

EVILS
OF
DEMOCRACY

BALTIMORE

1816



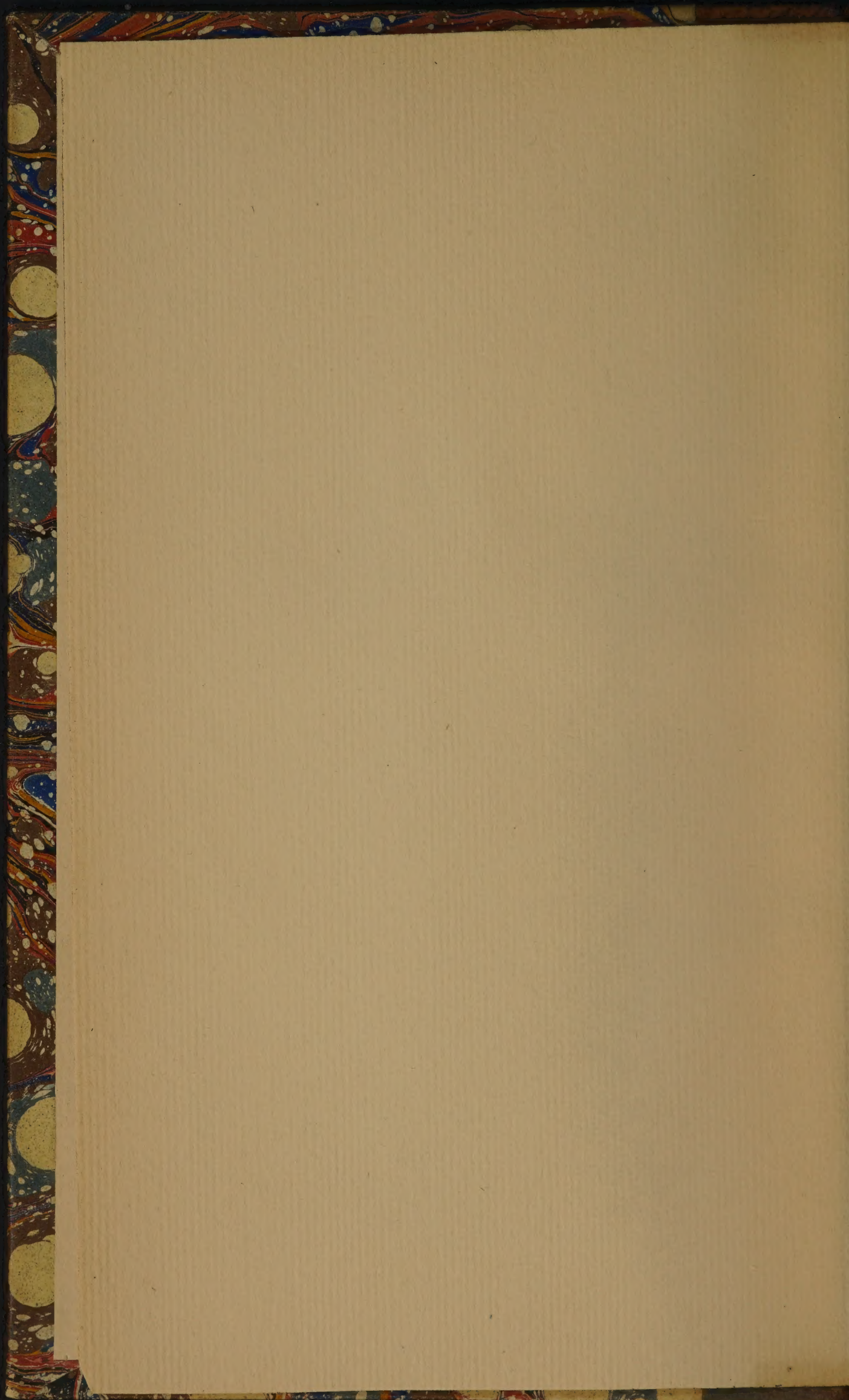


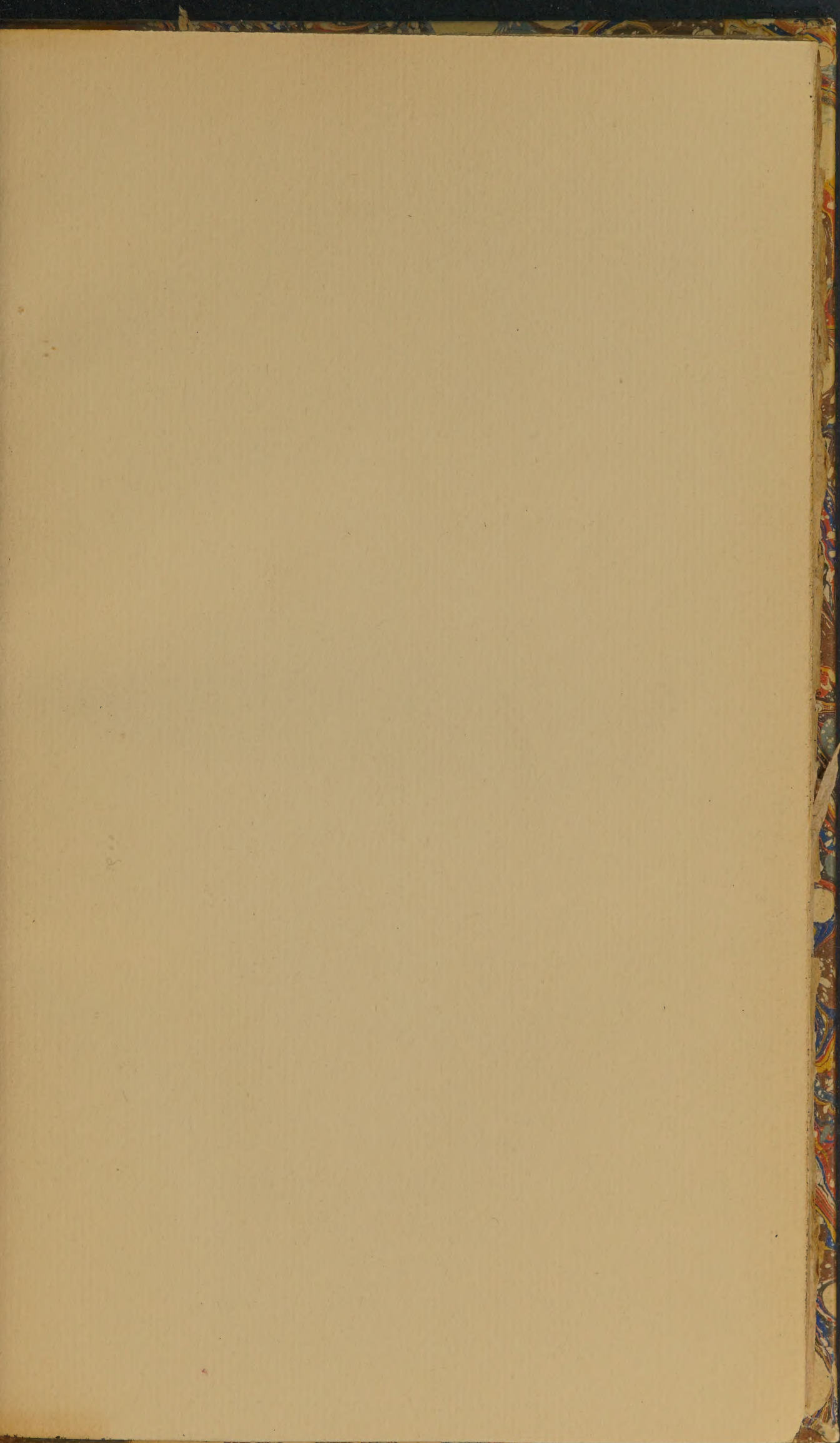


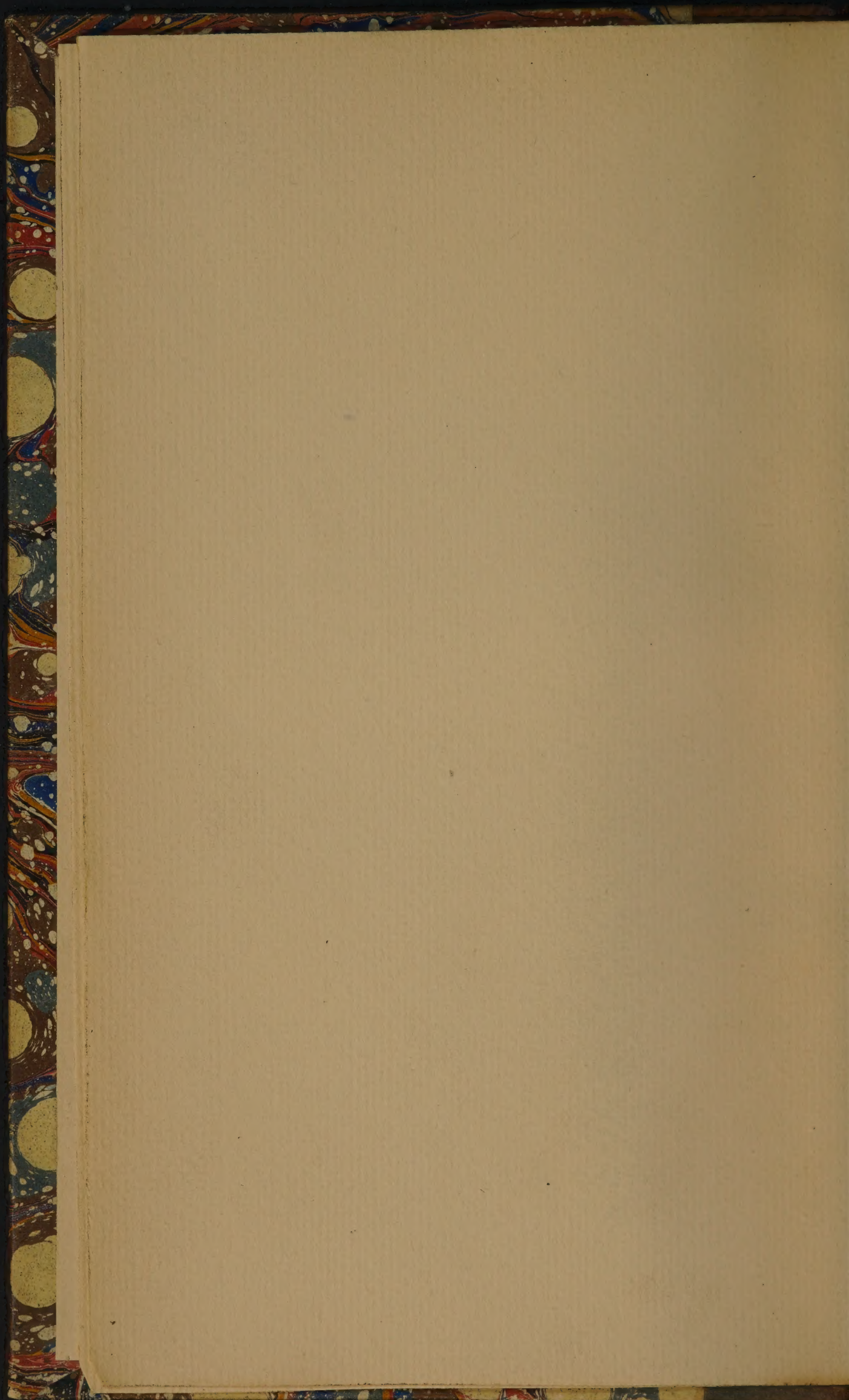
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A

PORTRAIT

OF THE

EVILS OF DEMOCRACY,

SUBMITTED

TO THE CONSIDERATION

OF THE

PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE PRINTED,

1816.

147705

THE
COMMITTEE OF GRIEVANCES

AND
COURTS OF JUSTICE,

To whom the following Order of the House of Delegates of November the eighteenth, eighteen hundred and twelve, was referred—

“ ORDERED, that the Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice be and they are hereby instructed, to inquire into the late Riots and Mobs in the City of Baltimore, and the causes thereof, with a view to ascertain whether there has been any culpable inortness or neglect of duty on the part of any of the Civil or Military Officers of the State, or whether the defect is in the Law, in order that the proper remedy in either case may be applied.”—

BEG LEAVE TO REPORT, IN PART—

That in compliance with the Order of the House of Delegates, and under the exercise of a general power with which the Committee of Grievances are invested, they have inquired into the recent disturbances which have so agitated the City of Baltimore, and depressed the reputation of our state in the eyes of our sister Republics, “the causes thereof, and the conduct of the civil and military officers in relation thereto.” They find, from the testimony collected by your committee, and which accompanies this Report, that the City of Baltimore has for a long time been considered as the ardent advocate of every measure of the general government leading to the War in which the Nation is now engaged.

That the Federal Republican, edited by Messrs. Hanson and Wagner, exercising a constitutional right of reviewing the measures of the national cabinet, arraigned, in glowing colours, the integrity and policy of the system which was to plunge the nation into hostilities: That the exercise of this right produced a general spirit of intolerance against that establishment; and that leading and distinguished advocates of the administration, were so far forgetful of the spirit of our constitution, of the sacred protection which the freedom of the press required from their hands, and of their obedience to the sovereignty of the law, as to indulge in denunciations against the establishment, and to circulate the horrible impression, that the same course of strictures upon the measures of the Cabinet, would, after a declaration of war,

merit and receive the summary application of popular vengeance. The fitness and correctness of this doctrine were inculcated by the instrumentality of the democratic presses, having an extensive circulation amongst that description of persons the most likely to be impelled to excesses, and the fit instruments of outrage—That under the influence of the feelings excited by the above improper expressions of distinguished characters, and publications in the democratic papers, committees were organized by men of daring character, (only one of whom has been named by your committee,) to obtain subscribers to a plan, having for its undisguised object, the demolition of the Office of the Federal Republican. In this effervescence of the public feeling, and state of preparation, the Congress of the United States declared war on the eighteenth of June. The editorial remarks in the Federal Republican on the ensuing day, reprobated the motives and expediency of the measure: The ministerial papers replied to those remarks in a style of bitterness and acerbity, well calculated to direct and secure the consummation of the promised threat of revenge. On Sunday, rumors were afloat, and a belief entertained, that public meetings at Pamphilion's hotel, the Apollo, and Stewart's gardens, had determined to silence the press. On Monday, the paper appeared without remarks on the attitude which the congress had assumed; but still, well grounded apprehensions were entertained by Mr. Wagner, that his establishment and person were both endangered, and he took the precautionary measure of removing his book of accounts from the office. In the evening, the plan of lawless outrage was commenced by a parcel of boys and a few men. The assemblage quickly augmented, bringing with them fire-hooks, and every apparatus requisite for the destruction of the building. The operations of the mob were conducted with a regularity and subordination inducing a belief that the whole was the result of a digested system of operations, and terminated in a loss to the proprietors of three or four thousand dollars.

In this work of destruction a Frenchman was the most conspicuous and vociferous against the establishment, upon account of the general tone of its politics. A portion of the rioters, under a belief that Mr. Wagner was concealed in the old office of discount and deposit, attempted to enter the same; from this they were diverted by the zeal of two democratic gentlemen, who gave them assurances that Mr. Wagner was not there. The destruction of the house cost much labor and time; during which many stood by, and contributed nothing to the protection of the rights guaranteed to the citizens by our form of government. From the force of this remark, your committee with pleasure except the names of Edward Johnson, the mayor of the city, and judge Scott, who used every persuasive suggestion to divert the mob

from their outrages ; but who omitted to attempt a resort to the protection created by the vigilance of the legislature, in procuring a requisition for a military force, when they saw the civil authority inadequate to the security of Mr. Wagner and his property. From the office of discount and deposit a part of the mob proceeded to the house of Mrs. Wagner's father ; and a committee, appointed by themselves, searched every apartment in the house ; there an Irishman was the most noted for his savage threats. They next visited Mr. Wagner's own house, and used every stratagem which rage suggested, to hunt out the contemplated victim of their revenge. No efficient measures being adopted the ensuing morning by the constituted authorities of the city, to arrest the rioters, and to cause them to enter into the customary recognizance to keep the peace, they were emboldened, and sought for new victims ; they collected in the evening, with a force almost incredible, at the house of one Hutchens, charged by them with using expressions derogatory to the character of general Washington. They demanded him, with expressions of rage evidencing a determination to sacrifice him. The mayor had prevailed on him to escape. To prevent any violence to his house, and to cause the rioters to disperse, it was suggested that the mayor and George E. Mitchell, esq. late a member of the executive council, should enter the house and search it : this they did amidst the cries of Hutchen's children, and reported to the mob that he was not to be found. They then dispersed, with promises of future vengeance against him and those who either should rally for his protection or for the preservation of the peace of the city. To the shipping, regularly cleared out according to the laws of the United States, to unprohibited ports, and bearing the products of our soil, they turned their attention ; and in their strength, by dismantling the vessels, they prohibited to the merchant the pursuit of wealth in the channels sanctioned by the government of his country. In the wantonness of their cruelty the unfortunate blacks attracted their attention ; and Briscoe, a free negro, charged with the expressions of affection for the British nation, has to deplore the sacrifice of his houses, (amounting to about eight hundred dollars,) by their unfeeling agency. An African Church, erected by the piety of the well disposed for the improvement and amelioration of the blacks, became to them an object of jealousy ; and rumours of a combination for its destruction, at length aroused the municipality of the city from its lethargy, and a patrol of horse, by overawing the turbulent, gave to this unhappy place the appearance of quiet.

Your committee have omitted to present to your consideration a variety of incidents, where private revenge sought its gratification under the imposing garb of zeal against the reputed enemies of their country ; and where those citizens who have

sought an asylum here from the oppressions of their own governments, attempted to gratify their embittered passions by proscriptions of each other, the alleged causes of which existed before their emigration. To this source may be traced those convulsions of the city, where the United Irishmen and Orange-Men were the more prominent. During this prostration of the civil authority, Mr. Wagner sought an establishment in the District of Columbia, where the Federal Republican was revived. Mr. Hanson, impelled by considerations of duty to his country, and believing that a decisive stand ought to be taken for the preservation of the freedom of the press, resolved on its re-establishment in the city of Baltimore. *A right secured to him by the first principle and express language of our compact.* Woful experience had taught him to believe, that the same spirit of intolerance which led to its first annihilation, would again manifest itself, by an attempt to prevent its re-establishment; and confidently expecting that a resistance on the first onset would lead either to the dispersion of the mob, or the interposition of the civil authority, and thus cause a recognition of his right to locate his establishment there; he organized, by the aid of his personal friends in Montgomery, a force for, and a plan of defence but not of aggression. In execution of this design he came to Baltimore on Sunday the twenty-sixth of July—his friends arrived on the same day; their arrival was known but to few. The means of defence and resistance, had been previously prepared and deposited in the house, with a secrecy and caution, defying a suspicion of the object; and on Monday morning the Federal Republican was circulated amongst the subscribers, purporting to be printed at No. 45, Charles-street. This paper contained spirited strictures upon the lawless temper of the city, and the indisposition of the civil or military officers to discharge the respective duties of their office; and upon the executive of Maryland. It does not appear to your committee, that the state of preparation in which Mr. Hanson and his friends were, was known to the citizens generally, or that any acts were done by them, either calculated to excite irritation or apprehension of aggression in the minds of the citizens—Their course of conduct during the whole day evidenced a determination to adhere to the original design of avoiding all ostentation of preparation, and to act entirely on the defensive. During the day, information was communicated to those in the house, that an attack would be made; every precaution which prudence and humanity suggested was adopted, to prevent any occurrence which might attract the attention of the mob. About early candle light, the wicked and daring attempt to expel a citizen from his residence, or to involve in one common ruin himself and his property, was commenced, and continued, notwithstanding frequent and reiterated solicitations by the persons in the house to the mob, to desist and retire; and not until the

windows were shattered, was even a fire of intimidation permitted from the house. At this the mob dispersed; but shortly returned with a drum and fire-arms, and with an increased violence attacking the house most furiously in the front and rear. But the same spirit of forbearance animated its defenders, till the door was burst open, when a discharge of musquetry wounded some of the assailants. Judge Scott hurried to this scene of uproar, and with Mr. Abell, used every persuasive argument to induce the mob to desist, but with no success; his language and authority were alike treated with contempt. Every exertion which men divested of reason, and inflamed by passion could make, was made to destroy the defenders of the house—To execute this savage design, the door was again burst open, and a man by the name of Gales, the chief of the mob, shot dead as he entered. A field piece was procured by the mob, and elevated at the house.

While this bloody scene was acting before the house of Mr. Hanson, many well-disposed citizens, alarmed for the peace of the city, and anxious for the preservation of the persons in the house, gathered at Brigadier-General Stricker's; who, irritated by Mr. Hanson's return to the city, which might be the innocent cause of a requisition being made upon him by the civil authority, which would necessarily be attended with a responsibility, received some of the applications which were made to him, for the interposition of a military force, in a style well adapted to excite irritation; but still consented to obey any call which the magistracy should deem it expedient to make on him. But such was the intolerant spirit of the magistracy against that establishment, or such was their anxiety to avoid any responsibility for their official duties, that great difficulty and much delay occurred in procuring two magistrates sufficiently devoted to the public good, and their oath of office, to sign the requisition. Major Barney, of the cavalry, before this, had received an order to repair to his general, which he obeyed with alacrity, and received from him a copy of the orders herewith submitted. Major Barney, with about thirty horsemen under his command, moved down between 1 and 3 o'clock to the house. The mob, apprehensive of an efficient resistance, were alarmed, and at his approach generally retired. But his conduct soon dispelled their fears, and gave rise to a belief among them that he was either unwilling, or incompetent, to enforce their dispersion. Thus all apprehensions of the military or civil interposition being banished, the timid were emboldened and the daring unchecked by any suggestions of a future accountability.

The mayor, the attorney-general, general Stricker, and some citizens distinguished by their political consequence, became the negotiators between the gentlemen in the house and their vin-

dictive assailants. This negotiation terminated in an arrangement, that Mr. Hanson, and his friends, should be conducted to the gaol as a place of security, under a solemn pledge, that every possible exertion should be made for their protection, and the security of their property.

A military escort was prepared, and a guard of unarmed citizens. A hollow square was formed, within which Mr. Hanson and his friends, accompanied by those who had promised them protection, and some other citizens of the greatest political weight, entered; and thus attended by hundreds crying for vengeance, and pressing on for their destruction, they reached the gaol. During this agonizing march, when the ferocity of the mob excited a general belief among those who had confided themselves to the civil power that their destruction would ensue before they should be put into the promised place of protection, frequent attempts were made to massacre them, by the throwing of stones, notwithstanding it endangered the lives of the political favourites of the mob.

Some of those who had been in the house at the commencement of the attack, attempted by various modes to insure a retreat—Some were arrested in their flight by the mob; and the savage temper of this “many headed monster” displayed itself in the cold and deliberate manner in which it planned the execution of its captives.

Revolutionary France furnished the lawless precedent of exhibiting upon the lamp post, by the irresponsible fiat of the populace, those who were supposed wanting in duty to the republic. A native of our country was seized on, and an attempt made to imitate the example set by the blood-thirsty Parisians.

From the completion of this sanguinary deed they were prevented by a stratagem suggested by democratic gentlemen, inducing a procrastination until an appointed hour, when they repaired to the place of confinement, to drag forth their victim, before then removed by the interposition and zeal of his friends.

After Mr. Hanson and his friends were placed in the gaol, a general apprehension was entertained that the mob would, on the ensuing night, endeavour to force their prison, and glut their vengeance on the unarmed prisoners. The whole city was in a state of commotion; the criminal court was closed, and the anxious and inquiring countenances of the citizens denoted an apprehension of an approaching tragedy, in which all the barbarities which ferocious men, unchecked by the wholesome restraints of the law perform, would be exhibited. The prison was surrounded by groups of an infuriated mob, eternally demanding vengeance.

The weight of character, the necessary concomitant of wealth and political standing in society, was not generally brought into

action to allay the excited feelings of the city; but, on the other hand, a belief was impressed that Mr. Hanson and his immediate political friends, were enemies to the country; that his visit to Baltimore was the consequence of an arrangement to insult and dragoon the citizens; that they were murderers; that they would avail themselves of a constitutional right to change the *venue* to an adjoining county, and thus escape the punishment due to their crimes—The Whig gave extensive circulation to these strictures. The general spirit of intolerance against the establishment, united with the occurrences of the day, and these excitements, produced an apathy among the well disposed, and gave an increased activity to the turbulent and vindictive.

The mayor and brigadier visited those confined in gaol, refused them arms for defence, and gave them solemn assurances that a guard would be stationed in and around the gaol, and that whatever power the civil or military could wield, should be given for their protection. Other citizens repaired to judge Scott's, and required that the military should be ordered out; and after a considerable delay the requisition to brigadier-general Stricker was procured, who issued to col. Sterett, commanding the fifth regiment, to major Barney, of the cavalry, to col. Harris, of the artillery, the respective orders accompanying this report. It appears to your committee that whatever may be the construction of the orders given to col. Sterett, general Stricker verbally forbid him to deliver out to the men under his command ball cartridges. Of col. Sterett's regiment thus ordered out, but thirty or forty obeyed the call of their commander; this defection, in the opinion of your committee, may be traced to the united causes of indisposition to protect the persons in the gaol, an apprehension of immediate danger, of future proscription, and to the inefficient preparation under which they were ordered to march—of the cavalry but a few attended.

During these operations in Gay-Street, it was known to those ferocious monsters who panted at the gaol for the blood of their unarmed fellow-citizens, that the military were ordered out.—The mayor used every persuasive argument to induce them to disperse, and to effect that, gave them a solemn pledge that neither Mr. Hanson nor his friends should be bailed. These assurances, united with apprehensions of a formidable resistance from the military, produced from some a reluctant promise that the gaol should not be attempted—Some of the most daring had left the gaol, and repaired to see the operations of the force convening to arrest the completion of their horrid designs. At this unfortunate moment, an interchange of opinion took place between general Stricker and others, which resulted in a belief that the interposition of the military would not be requisite, and that if any should be required, the force collected would be insufficient;

orders were given to dismiss the military—it was the signal of destruction. The mob collected with a savage impetuosity, and heedless of the feeble opposition formed by the intreaties of the mayor, they attacked the sanctuary of the prisoners—The outer door was opened by treachery; the inner doors yielded to their rage and force; they entered the room of the gentlemen; there a scene of horror and murder ensued, which for its barbarity has no parallel in the history of the American people, and no equal but in the massacres of Paris. The good, the venerable, the gallant general Langan, whose early life was distinguished by his active and manly exertions to rescue this country from the controul of a British parliament; who was honored by the confidence of the immortal saviour of the nation, and who practised every christian virtue, was here overpowered by these sons of murder, and became the victim of their merciless ferocity. Seven or eight of the gentlemen were thrown in a heap, under an impression, entertained by these assassins, that they were dead.—Some effected their escape by stratagem, or by the interposition of some protecting friend. One was detained as a subject for the trial of every refinement of torture which their fiend-like invention suggested. The humanity of certain medical gentlemen was exerted, and by their interposition, under Divine Providence, those supposed to be dead were restored to life and society. On the ensuing day a general terror prevailed throughout the city.

Your committee further find, that no attention was paid to the preservation of the house and property thus abandoned, but that a few men were suffered, during the day, to be actively engaged in doing every possible injury to the same. Federalists, deeming themselves insecure from a conviction, arising from past occurrences, that the civil power was too feeble for their protection, and that the military were unwilling to rally around the judiciary when the object was either the security of their persons or property, fled in every direction—No exertions were made to arrest the disturbers, and they assumed to themselves the sovereign power of controlling the government of the United States, by regulating the concerns of the post-office. They assembled with a view to the demolition of the office, in order to collect and destroy the papers of the Federal Republican, transmitted by mail to subscribers in the city. The activity of Mr. Burrall, of the post-office, discovered the combination, and with promptitude communicated to the mayor and brigadier-general the grounds of his belief. They became at last convinced of the fact, which the experience of all countries had proved, that the mobs of populous cities can only be restrained and overawed by the application of an efficient force. And the general, without any written requisition, but upon assurances that any should be given thereafter which the result of his opposition might require, ordered out the whole of his brigade, at

the head of which he appeared, as became a military chief. A distribution of ball took place, and every preparation was made, evidencing a determination to disperse the tumultuous. But even here, surrounded with the military, the civil power did not abandon the same wretched system of concession and conciliation; for it appears to your committee, that upon the manifestation of a spirit of insubordination among some of the military, the mayor proposed to the post-master to deliver up the Federal Republican papers, to be carried to the dwelling of the mayor, with a solemn assurance to the mob, that they should be returned in the morning by the mail to Washington. The post-master stated the embarrassments arising from the nature of his official duties; and upon a consultation at the residence of Mr. Burrall, the proposition was abandoned, and a resolution adopted to protect the establishment. Before which, the mayor avowed a determined resolution to protect the office, but at the same time to allay the irritation of a portion of the militia, who complained of their being called out for the protection of the Federal Republican, he stated, "You are not assembled to protect the paper; you are marched here to protect the property of the United States, and to support the laws. I, myself, would draw my sword, and head my fellow-citizens, to put down that establishment." An order from the colonel, and the voluntary charge by two horse, dispersed the rioters. For many successive nights a military guard was stationed; a determination was manifested that the peace of the city should be preserved, and it produced the effect—The grand jury, in its regular course, investigated the subject, and presented some of those engaged in the murder and riots. They were arrested and committed to prison; threats of rescue were made; a military force was stationed during the night at the prison, and artillery planted in the hall of the gaol. These operations were attended with an uniform result, establishing incontrovertibly, that the course of forbearance and concession selected by those charged with the preservation of the peace of the city, was productive of no other effect than to embolden the wicked. The trials took place—The first of them exhibited a temper in the jury, utterly inconsistent with the object of criminal jurisprudence, the punishment of the guilty; the attorney-general of Maryland frequently declared his belief that no conviction against the offenders could be had; and still omitted to enter a suggestion on the record that the state could not have a fair trial, and to pray that the records might be transmitted to another county. An universal acquittal of the most blood thirsty ensued; and the melancholy apprehension is now entertained, that the wicked have nothing there to fear from the retributive justice of the state.

Your committee further find, that the ordinary power with which the magistrates are invested for the preservation of the peace of the city, was in no instance, except as stated by your

committee, called into action; that the constables are corrupt, and exercise an undue influence over the magistracy, that the Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery is conducted in a manner inconsistent with the dignity due to a tribunal invested with such extensive power.

Your committee find, that during the morning of the twenty-eighth of July, John Montgomery, Esqr. did, in order to prevent the firing of the canon levelled at the house, make use of every exertion, and encountered great danger, and that during these agitations, frequent meetings of the most respectable citizens of both parties were convened by the mayor, in order to concert some plan of operations to insure the peace of the city, and which uniformly resulted only in recommendations to the turbulent to forbear, and recommending a proclamation, to be signed by the magistracy, calling on the peace officers to be vigilant in the preservation of order.

Your committee have presented to your consideration the causes and extent of the late riots—They now will submit to you an expression of their opinion, formed upon a dispassionate examination of the testimony, “as to the conduct of the Civil and Military Officers in relation thereto.” It is the opinion of your committee, that during all the agitations which have convulsed the city of Baltimore, Edward Johnson, Esquire, did every thing which could be required of him as a private citizen; but they have to regret, that, as Mayor, charged with the preservation of the quiet of the city, his forbearance, and indisposition to resort to the ordinary powers of coercion, with which he was invested, against the turbulent and wicked, was so distinguished as to encourage a belief that he connived at and approbated their excesses. That he was guilty of a most reprehensible indiscretion, when he used to the refractory militia intemperate language against the Federal Republican, the inevitable effect of which was to sanction and excite, by his weight of character, the popular excesses against the same. That when he, at the Post-Office, surrounded with the military and his political friends, submitted a proposition, the object of which was to ensure the triumph of the illegal combinations of the Mob, he evidenced a timidity, and a want of judgment, irresistably inducing a belief of his unfitness for the station which he filled. That this course of forbearance, united with the wicked inertness of the magistracy, and deplorable corruption of the constables, nurtured and gave maturity to that horrid spirit of licentiousness, which terminated in the tragical and lawless events detailed by your committee.

That General Stricker, aware of the ferocious and blood-thirsty temper of the Mob, who were eternally vociferating “blood for blood,” and seeking to satiate their vengeance by the instrumentality of a field-piece levelled at the house, failed to gratify the

spirit of the requisition made on him by the civil power, when he issued to Major Barney orders not calculated to ensure the return of order and peace, by enforcing the dispersal of those who were violating both.

That Major Barney erred, when (although tied down by his orders, and evidencing every disposition to prevent the effusion of blood and to allay the violence of the Mob,) he attempted by conciliation and persuasion to induce the Mob to disperse, which had the effect to banish that awe and apprehension which the presence of an armed cavalry naturally inspires. That his pledge to the Mob, that none of those in the house should escape, was calculated to give all that confirmation which would necessarily result from the expression of his opinion, that the gentlemen in the house were the aggressors, and that the Mob, of course, were justified in their horrid outrages. That General Stricker, knowing as he did, that a portion of his brigade manifested a spirit incompatible with the gratification of any military order, which the requisition on him demanded, and being present, when the sanguinary temper of the rioters evidenced itself, in a force incompatible with the safety of the persons marching to the gaol, and unchecked either by the interposition of the military force with which they were surrounded or by the presence of the political friends of the mob, failed to do his duty to his country when he omitted to order out a larger portion of his brigade on the 28th—That he was guilty of a manifest departure from every principle of prudence, when he, by a verbal, rendered unavailing a written order given to Colonel Sterett, to fire on any assailants. This restriction, in the opinion of your committee, merits the most decided reprobation, as being utterly inconsistent with, and having a direct tendency to render inoperative, any application of a military force; nor can the dismissal of troops on the evening of the twenty-eighth day of July, when opposite opinions were entertained as to the desigus of the turbulent, when the civil power was lulled into a fatal security by assurances of an efficient military co-operation, when the General and his advisers were vibrating between apprehensions of danger and belief of security, when no exertions were made to sound the temper of the different quarters of the city, be considered in any other aspect than as the act of a timid mind, seeking to avoid a responsibility for the awful consequences resulting from an efficient military resistance. If the military assembled as a portion of the fifth regiment, was inadequate for the purpose of defence, General Stricker owed it to the solemnity of the occasion, to his pledge to the gentlemen in the gaol, to his duty to his state, to appear in the most impressive manner, and to invite all, either attached by military pride, by political association, or by personal confidence, to rally under his banners. That such a course of military preparation which would have been pro-

ductive of a result favorable to humanity, and our pride of state, is apparent from the occurrences connected with the operations at the post-office. The public had a right to demand that those wretches who had thus trampled on the law, and outraged humanity, should, by a fair administration of justice, be brought to punishment; it had a right to expect that the law officer of the state would see, that at least an impartial trial should be had.—Your committee are therefore of opinion, that John Montgomery Esq. the Attorney-General, when he believed that the sovereignty of the law could not, either from corruption in the jurors, or the influence of public feeling, an event anticipated from the very genius of our government, be vindicated in the city of Baltimore, was bound, both by his duty and his oath of office, to enter a suggestion of his belief, and pray for the removal of the trials to an adjoining county. This omission, in the opinion of your committee, demands from this house a severe animadversion. All which is submitted.

BY ORDER

LOUIS GASSAWAY, *Clerk.*

THE
COMMITTEE OF GRIEVANCES
AND
COURTS OF JUSTICE,

BEG LEAVE FURTHER TO REPORT—

That they find, that Tobias E. Stansbury, then a Brigadier-General in the militia of this state, and now a Delegate to the General Assembly of Maryland from Baltimore County, on the twenty-eighth day of July last, at the gaol of Baltimore County, did refuse to obey or aid the civil authority in the preservation of the tranquillity of the city—That he frequently used violent and inflammatory expressions, intended and calculated to excite the Mob to break the gaol, and to murder Mr. Hanson and his friends, who had confided themselves to the protection of the law; and to depress the exertions of those who labored to allay the infuriated temper of the turbulent; and to divert the assassins from the consummation of their savage designs. That he was present when the cruelties were perpetrated either on general Lee or Ligan—That he has frequently before and since that day, expressed his opinion and wish that those persons, who

were defending the house in Charles-street, ought to have been put to death when in the house, by the Mob; and has also declared, that if he had been present, that he would have aided in their destruction.

When your committee reflect upon the many manifestations of confidence which Mr. Stansbury has received from his immediate constituents, and the public functionaries of the State; when they recollect how frequently and solemnly he has sworn, before the Supreme Being, to support the constitution and laws; when they consider the high and important command which he then bore in the service of the State, and the only object of which was the indiscriminate and general security of his fellow-citizens, they cannot but express their indignant feelings at the course pursued on that eventful night by General Stansbury, and their belief, that the evidence collected by them, is so strong as to justify a well grounded opinion, that he consented to, and countenanced, the completion of the horrible butcheries of that night; and that the House of Delegates of Maryland, is bound by every consideration of justice and expediency, to adopt every constitutional means with which it is invested to bring to a fair and impartial trial the said Tobias E. Stansbury, for his conduct in relation to the attack on the gaol, which terminated in the murder of General James Lingan.

BY ORDER.

LOUIS GASSAWAY, CL'K.

FROM THE BOSTON REPERTORY.

Freedom of the Press.—We have just read the authentic statement in the "Federal Republican" of the conduct and sufferings of Mr. Hanson and his friends. *Perhaps a case could never again occur, more clear in principle, more important to the country in its consequences, or in which more true patriotism could be displayed.*—We reflect upon the conduct of these gallant noble spirited men with admiration, and delight. We are reminded by it of those recorded examples of unsubdued firmness, of collected intrepidity in the hour of peril, of self devotion to the great cause of public liberty, which have made heroes, and patriots immortal. When we consider the cause in which these admirable men engaged, its justice, its importance and its dangers, we feel that they have done a service to their country, which, we trust, that country, when rescued from the hands of its betrayers, will remember and reward. They have set an example to their countrymen, which will find followers, they have awakened a spirit which will diffuse itself; they have already given a permanent security to the liberty of Speech and of the Press. The consciousness of this, the sympathy of all honourable and good men, will be their recompense.

The defence of a Free Press by Mr. Hanson and his friends, has been the occasion of unveiling the true nature of democracy; the great head and patron of which in the United States, is James Madison. He has risen to power by associating himself with all the base prejudices, the vulgar errors, and the blind passions of the people. Hence we find that the Mob of Baltimore with all that is mobbish, and ignorant, and vicious, and furious, are emphatically on his side, claiming to act in his support, avowing that "all disaffection must be hushed." Government must be supported say the rabble, by which they understand, that no man shall be permitted to speak or write against Mr. Madison or his war, and if they dare to exercise these unalienable rights, they are to be robbed, beat and massacred. To call men Tories, though like LINGAN and LEE they fought the battles of independence, is to put them without the protection of the laws; and becomes the signal for proscription and death. Such is democracy, and such its practical illustration in Baltimore.—This devoted city now contains within itself the "fiery materials of its own destruction," and will continue to break out in eruptions of anarchy and crimes, a warning and a terror to other cities, till the reign of the laws shall be restored.

FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLICAN.

An exact and authentic Narrative, of the events which took place in Baltimore, on the 27th and 28th of July last—Carefully collected from some of the sufferers and from eye-witnesses.

STATE OF MARYLAND, ss.

ROCKVILLE, AUGUST 12, 1812.

Personally appeared on this 12th day of August, 1812, before *John Fleming*, Justice of the Peace for Montgomery County, the following persons; *Peregrine Warfield, Richard I. Crabb, Charles J. Kilgour, Henry Netson, Ephraim Gaither, Robert Kilgour, John H. Payne, H. C. Gaither, and Alexander C. Hanson*, who being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, do declare and depose in the manner and form following—to wit;

That these deponents are some of the surviving persons who were devoted, or meant to be devoted, to the brutal and murderous fury of the mob, in the late massacre in the jail of the City of Baltimore—That these deponents having seen the following statement submitted to them of that horrid atrocity, and the proceedings connected with it, do swear, that as far as their individual sufferings or particular opportunities of observation may enable them to testify, they believe the facts and circumstances detailed in the following statement to be truly and accurately stated.—These deponents not intending hereby to preclude themselves from a further narrative or disclosure, of such other circumstances and special injuries and sufferings as are within the particular knowledge of each of them respectively, or which they may have individually experienced and endured,

Sworn to before

JOHN FLEMING.

STATE OF MARYLAND—MONTGOMERY COUNTY, ss.

I hereby certify, that *John Fleming*, gent. before whom the foregoing affidavit appears to have been made, and whose name is thereto subscribed, was at the time a Justice of the Peace in and for the county aforesaid, duly commissioned and sworn.

Upton Beall
Seal.
Upton Beall

In testimony whereof, I have hereto subscribed my name, and affixed the public seal for Montgomery county, this 12th day of August, A. D. 1812.

UPTON BEALL,

Clerk of Montgomery County Court.

On the night of the 22 June, the office and entire printing apparatus of the Federal Republican was demolished by a Mob in Baltimore, in the presence of the Mayor, the Judge of the Criminal Court, and several other Magistrates and Police Officers, whose authority was not exerted to save it, and preserve the peace of the city. One of the Editors narrowly escaped with his life after being pursued by ruffians, who avowed their fell purpose of assassination.

Mr. Hanson, the other proprietor of the paper, heard of the depredations committed by the Mob the evening after, and went to Baltimore the next day, accompanied by his friend Captain Richard I. Crabb, to make arrangements for re-establishing the paper. Finding it impossible to render any service, the laws being effectually silenced, and his friends unanimously urging his departure, he left town in a few hours, having first walked the streets as usual, and made all arrangements that could be made, in conjunction with his friends and agents, for reviving the paper with all possible dispatch.

Upon his return home to Rockville, Montgomery County, Mr. Hanson communicated to some of his most intimate friends his determination to recommence the paper in Baltimore, and declared he never would visit Baltimore again until he could go prepared to assert his rights, and resist oppression. He was aware, that the execution of his plan would be accompanied with much difficulty and danger, but his friends admired and approved it the more on that account, and volunteered to accompany him to Baltimore, to participate his dangers or successes, in maintaining the rights of person and property, and defending the Liberty of the Press—They were nine in number:—General James M. Lingan, (murdered) General Henry Lee, Captain Richard I. Crabb, Dr. P. Warfield, Charles J. Kilgour, Otho Sprig, Ephraim Gaither, and John Howard Payne. Several others were to have gone, but were prevented; and on the night of the attack, the party was joined by three other volunteers from the country, who were not fully apprized by Mr. Hanson, of his determination, but received their information in confidence from others:—Major Musgrove, Henry C. Gaither, and William Gaither. On the evening of the attack, they were joined by about twenty gentlemen living in Baltimore, one or two only of whom were invited to the house by Mr. Hanson.

When the office was first demolished, Mr. Wagner, one of the proprietors, lived in a house in Charles street. On that event, he removed his family from the house, but did not relinquish it, or remove his furniture.

In this situation it remained until the 26th of July, when the paper having been re-established in Georgetown, and the proprietors having resolved to attempt its re-establishment in Baltimore, one of them, Mr. Hanson, came and occupied this house, (having first taken a lease) as a place from which the distribution of the paper might be made. He was attended by the friends before mentioned, who were to remain as his guests until their business called them home.

They thought it probable, that an attempt would be made to prevent the distribution of the paper, and they might even be attacked in the house for that purpose. But they hoped, by the appearance of determined resistance, to deter the assailants from actual violence, till the civil authority should have time to interpose and prevent mischief. Should they be disappointed in this hope, and find themselves in danger from the unrestrained violence of a mob, they

were resolved, and were prepared to stand on the defensive, and to repel force by force. Reliance upon the civil authority they early perceived to be fruitless, for on application to the Mayor by the owner of the house, he peremptorily declined all interference, and left town, as it was understood, to prevent his repose from being disturbed.—The civil authority refusing to interfere when applied to by Mr. White, the son, and Mr. Dennis Nowland, the son-in-law of the owner of the house, there was nothing left but to resist the Mob in the house, and while this resistance was made with a mildness and forbearance scarcely ever equalled, and which excited the wonder of the spectators, several messages were sent to Brigadier General Stricker to disperse the Mob and prevent the effusion of blood, which would otherwise be unavoidable.

If it be objected, that the scheme was rash or imprudent, all must admit it was strictly and clearly lawful. Mr. Hanson had an undoubted right to distribute the paper in Baltimore, from this or any other house in his occupation, and to defend his person and property by force, in case they were assailed by unlawful violence, and left unprotected by the civil authority.

On Monday, the 27th of July, the distribution of the paper was commenced, and proceeded without molestation or tumult, till evening. But soon after twilight, a Mob collected before the house, and soon began to act in a very threatening and riotous manner. The gentlemen in the house, with great mildness, patience and forbearance, repeatedly advised and requested them to disperse, assuring them that the house was armed, and would be defended, and that the consequences of attacking would be dangerous.

This, however, had no other effect than to increase the boldness and violence of the Mob, as well as its numbers. A vigorous attack on the house was soon commenced.—Stones were thrown in showers at the front windows, all of which were soon broken, and not only the glass, but the sashes and shutters were demolished, and an attempt was made to break down the street door, which was at length actually broken and burst open. All the acts of violence were accompanied by loud and reiterated declarations by the Mob of a determination to force the house, and expel, or kill all those who were engaged in its defence.

These scenes continued for more than two hours, without the least interference of the Mayor, or any appearance of an intention to interpose. At length, the persons thus threatened and assailed, finding that little hope remained of protection from the local authorities, and that forbearance, expostulation and entreaty, served only on their part, to increase the audacity of the Mob, resolved to try the effect of intimidation. Orders were therefore given to fire from the windows of the second story over the heads of the Mob, so as to frighten, without hurting them. This was done.—The Mob was at first intimidated by this blank fire, but soon finding that no hurt was done by it, they returned, and recommenced the attack with increased violence. The windows having been all before broken, and the front room on the lower floor abandoned, the Mob pre-

pared to enter by the door and take possession of the house. The gentlemen from within, therefore prepared themselves for the worst, and resolved, that when things should be pushed to extremities, they would make a serious fire on the assailants. Some gentlemen were stationed on the stairs in the entry, opposite the front door, and the entry itself was barricaded, as well as could be done with chairs, tables, and other furniture. Other persons were posted at the windows, in such a manner as best to command the approach to the doors. They renewed their warnings and entreaties to the mob, but with no other effect than before, and in this situation they remained until effectual resistance should become absolutely necessary.—Still the civil authority did nothing, save the fruitless efforts of Judge Scott, who was ultimately obliged to leave the street. The Military was equally supine or indifferent. It was now about 11 o'clock. The violence of the attack increased, and in a short time a part of the mob with a Dr. Gale, their apparent leader and instigator (who had harrangued them in the street) at their head, made an attempt to enter the passage and advance towards the stairs.

Orders were now given to fire from the windows and staircase. By this fire Dr. Gale was killed, and carried off by his companions and followers. Several were wounded in the street. The mob fled in every direction, carrying with them the wounded, and the body of Dr. Gale, but before they fled they fired frequently into the house, where the marks of their shot are to be seen, and a pistol aimed at the breast of General Lee flashed, while he was expostulating with the mob. One of the defenders of the house, (Ephraim Gaither) was wounded at the time of the fire from the street, but how or with what has not been ascertained. He bled profusely, and had a convulsion in the morning while standing at his post upon duty.

This was the time for the gentlemen in the house to make their escape. Could they have seen that their enterprize had become impracticable, they might have made good their retreat. But they judged otherwise. They thought rather of their rights than of the prudence of a further effort to assert them, and resolved still to defend the house, indulging the hope too, that no further violence would be attempted after this experience of its consequences, or that the civil authority would effectually interpose.

The mob came very cautiously and almost by stealth in front of the house after the effectual fire. They still, however, remained in the street and increased their number gradually, a drum parading the streets to beat up recruits, and continued to throw stones in front and back of the house. Between two and three o'clock the military having been ordered out, Major Barney appeared in the street at the head of a small party of cavalry.

The mob again fled at his approach, crying out as they heard the trampling of horses, "the troop is coming, the troop is coming." Near the front of the house Major Barney halted and addressed them. On this they again returned. He told them he

was their friend, *their personal and political friend*, that he was there to protect person and property, to prevent violence, "to secure the party in the house," and that those in the street must disperse. They then asked him by what authority he came.—He answered by order of the brigadier general Stricker. They demanded a sight of the order, which he consented to show them, and for that purpose went round the corner into an alley where they assembled round him to see it. He said something in a low voice, on hearing which the mob gave three cheers.

What did he then say to them? This can be answered only from conjecture and from what happened afterwards. Many of the gentlemen in the house judging from subsequent events, believe that he communicated to the mob the plan of assassination, which was put into execution, and which they suppose to have been then already formed with his knowledge and participation. But this supposition would ascribe to that officer a degree of ferocious profligacy which ought not to be imputed to him or any other man without the clearest proof.—The subjoined extract from the Whig, explains Major Barney's conduct :

"We regret that our committee have not, after so much pains and promise, stated some particulars minutely ; particulars necessary to be known, we mean the circumstances of the *negociation* (as it were) between Major Barney and the populace. They agreed to rest satisfied, if the murderers should be carefully kept from escaping, and be surrendered into the hands of the civil authority ; in other words *be committed to jail for trial. To the fulfilment of this was Major Barney pledged.*"

His instructions were nevertheless for the safety and honor of the gentlemen in the house !

There can be no question, he had orders while he protected the house from further attack, to secure the party in it so as to prevent them from escaping, and to bring them to trial for the deaths which had taken place or were expected, and that he communicated this part of his orders to the mob. This supposition is favoured by what he was heard to say on his first approach—that "he was there to take possession and secure the party in the house." And when the gentlemen distrusting his views in consequence of what they had observed, demanded an explanation, he assured them that *he had no orders or instructions but such as were consistent with their safety and honor* but he was obliged to talk otherwise to the mob to deceive and keep them quiet.

The mob made no further attempt on the house, in front of which Major Barney and his cavalry remained constantly wrangling and talking with the mob, who soon prepared for a more effectual attack by bringing up a field-piece. With this they attempted to fire on the house, but were always prevented by Major Barney, who more than once mounted on the cannon, declar-

ing that if they fired they should fire on him, that they would kill their own friends—all which trouble he might have saved himself, if he pleased, by remounting his horse, and dispersing the mob which fled at his first approach.

This state of things continued till about six o'clock A. M. when Mr. Johnson, the mayor, arrived from the country whither messengers had been dispatched for him by those out of the house, and Brigadier General Stricker, who commands the militia of the town, appeared before the door and commenced a parley with the party within. Being admitted into the house, they represented to the party defending, the irritation which prevailed in the town, the exasperation of the public mind, and the impossibility of maintaining the defence against the force which would soon come in aid of the attack. The mayor asked for and addressed Mr. Hanson, with warm and great agitation. Spoke of a civil war, saying we are impressed with the belief that a civil war is inevitable, and I consider this a party thing, and the commencement of it. He complained also of the government's being implicated in the dispute between parties and the paper, and added, such opposition must or will be noticed. To all which Mr. Hanson replied that he would not enter into a political dispute with the mayor, that he had a right to defend his house which was his castle, and his person, and that he and his friends were competent to the protection of both, that it was the mayor's duty to disperse the mob. The mayor and general Stricker then declared their own inability to protect the party in the house while there, and proposed that they should surrender themselves into the hands of the civil authority, and be taken to the public jail as a place of safety, promising an effectual escort on the way, to be composed of Mr. Hanson's own friends, in town if he pleased, and also an effectual guard at the jail till they could be released on bail.

To this many of the party, particularly Mr. Hanson, strongly objected. He was indignant at the proposal to go to the jail.—“to jail, said he, for what? for protecting my person and property against a mob who assailed both for three hours without being fired upon when we could have killed numbers of them; it is your duty to disperse the mob, and if you cannot disperse them, you cannot protect us to jail or after we are in jail.” Mr. Hanson then, after the mayor and general went into the front room to converse with general Lee, exhorted his friends never to surrender, declaring that no reliance could be placed on the assurances of such men, who were his bitter enemies, and who, however willing they might be, were unable to afford effectual protection, as was proved by their inability to disperse the mob then assembled before the house. He repeated over and over, that if they surrendered they would all be sacrificed, and from his knowledge of the men they had to deal with, particularly John Montgomery who had

just before passed into the room, he expected they would all be given up to be massacred either on the way to jail or in the jail.— Mr. Hanson then stated his objections to the mayor and general Stricker, who in answer gave the most solemn assurances on their faith as officers, and their honor as men, to afford the promised protection, or die in the attempt. General Stricker assured them on his honor that he would never quit them while there was danger, and if they were attacked he would rescue or fall with them; these assurances were repeated frequently with the most solemn asseverations and appeals to God. Mr. Hanson having said something to his friends in regard to the house and furniture, a pledge was instantly given by the mayor to leave a guard to defend both. General Lee, and other gentlemen attempted to get better terms of capitulation, such as marching out with arms in their hands to assist in protecting themselves, and riding on their horses among the cavalry, and in carriages. The mayor and general went out to see if the mob would consent to any other terms. While gone, Mr. Hanson made two propositions to different gentlemen of his party, the one to hold the mayor and general as hostages for their safety, and the other, offering to give himself up to the mob who would then be appeased, repeating his belief that every man would be sacrificed if they surrendered.

When the mayor and general Stricker returned, they informed the party in the house that no other terms could be obtained from the mob than those first proposed, and urged their immediate acceptance, declaring that a delay of five minutes might be fatal.— Mr. Hanson still vehemently opposed surrendering, and said he had nothing to say to the mob, but would negotiate only with the civil authority, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood which he was as anxious to do as any one. General Lee, who had been chosen to command the party, was then sought for in the front room, up stairs. He was of opinion, that the proposition of the Mayor and General Stricker ought to be accepted, and endeavoured to gain over Mr. Hanson to his opinion, by expressing the warmest confidence in their sincerity and honor, and their competency to afford full protection to and at the jail. General Lee probably saw that the defence was wholly desperate. The numbers in the house had diminished from about thirty to twenty, by sending out detachments for various purposes who could not return, and from other causes not satisfactorily known. This remaining number was barely sufficient to man the essential stations. There were none to relieve them. The effects of fatigue and want of sleep began to be felt. Those of hunger and thirst must soon be added, for their stock of provisions and water was small, and a supply was impossible. To a military man of judgement and experience, like general Lee, these circumstances would naturally appear in all their force. He saw the defence necessarily and ra-

pidly becoming weaker, while there was reason to believe that the attacking force would greatly and rapidly augment. Being a soldier himself, he could not doubt a soldier's honor, nor believe that gen. Stricker who had served like himself in the war of our revolution, could abandon those who surrendered their arms on the faith of his word. General Lee therefore gave his opinion early and strongly in favor of a surrender.

Several others no doubt from similar motives, and some in deference to his opinion, declared for the same course. But Mr. Hanson more ardent because younger, smarting under wrongs unredressed and flushed by the hope of gaining in the end a glorious victory, and less confiding because better acquainted with the weakness, timidity and disposition of the persons on whom they were invited to rely, strongly and pertinaciously opposed this sentiment to the last, contending that if the defence was really impracticable, which he by no means believed, it was better to die there with arms in their hands, than to surrender for the purpose of being led through the streets like malefactors, and in the end massacred by the mob, against which he insisted that no effectual protection would be afforded, or ought to be expected. The opinion of general Lee, however, finally prevailed, and the whole party to the number of between twenty and thirty surrendered themselves into the hands of the civil authority. An escort of horse and foot was provided by general Stricker, and they were conducted from the house to the jail. This took place between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning.

In going to the jail, they were to pass by a large pile of paving stones, which had been provided for paving the streets. While the negotiation for the surrender was going on, a plan was laid to massacre the party at this pile of stones, and a company from Fell's Point, headed by a Mr. Worrel, was to join the Mob at that place for the purpose. The plan was to drive off, or knock down the escort with the stones, and then beat the prisoners to death. But the pile of stones was passed a few minutes before the party from the Point arrived, and thus the scheme was frustrated, not without two of the gentlemen receiving severe blows with stones, said to be aimed at Mr. Hanson. This important fact was related on the same day to a gentleman by one of the chiefs of the mob, who very coolly added:—"It is only a short delay, for we shall take them out of the jail to-night, and put them to death."

This intention was publicly and frequently avowed, in the course of the day; an express invitation to that effect was given in the principal democratic paper of the city; and the preparations for carrying it into effect, were openly made. A particular incident will shew how well it was known, or how confidently expected.

A youth of the name of M'Cubbin, a clerk in the counting house of Hollins and M'Blair, had opened the counting house in the morning, as usual, and after attending to his ordinary business, was led by curiosity or accident, into the neighborhood of the jail, at the moment when the party from the house entered it. Being with the crowd he was hurried into the jail by mistake, and was actually locked up with the party. Messrs. Hollins & M'Blair finding his situation, and knowing what would probably happen at night, exerted themselves to the utmost, with some of their friends, to effect his release, which they effected a little before night with very great difficulty. Those gentlemen despairing, it must be presumed, of success, made no effort as far as is known to prevent the catastrophe. Some of their friends, however, and particularly Col. James A. Buchanan, exerted themselves to the utmost, as it is said and believed, but to no purpose.

General Stricker and Mr. Johnson being informed of the intended massacre, an order was obtained in the legal form to call out the military for the protection of the jail. This order was given to general Stricker by Mr. Johnson, on the certificate and requisition of two magistrates. General Stricker accordingly ordered out the fifth regiment (commanded by Col. Joseph Sterett, a brave man, and to be relied on in all situations) but directed expressly, that they should be furnished *with blank cartridges only*. This part of the order might very well deter, and no doubt did deter many of the well-disposed militia from turning out. They might well suppose, that the order might by some means become known to the mob, who far from being intimidated by the appearance of soldiers known to be unarmed, would naturally consider it *as it was*, a pledge for their perfect impunity, and might probably slaughter the soldiers themselves.

The general exasperation, moreover, which prevailed on account of the events of the morning, which as always happens on such occasions, had been wholly misrepresented, and were almost universally misunderstood, was so high that great numbers of the militia, and some entire companies, especially one of cavalry, absolutely refused to turn out; many it may be supposed were prevented by their fears. Yet notwithstanding all these unfavorable circumstances, a number did appear, which is stated by some to have been sixty, and by others, not more than thirty. Col. Sterett was at the head of this fragment of his regiment. Capt. Samuel Sterett, who commands one of the companies, was also at his post. So was major Richard K. Heath. The other officers who appeared are not recollected.

The brigadier general himself, after his solemn pledge of his word and honor as an officer and a man, in the presence of God, did not appear. He was not seen with the troops, and if

seen in the streets at all, it was in his common dress, with a rattan in his hand:—He nowhere shewed himself as the commander of the militia, made no call in person on the troops, or the citizens to rally round him, but contented himself with barely doing what was required of him, according to the strict letter, by ordering out a part of the militia, and rendered that order futile and nugatory, or worse, by combining it with an order to come without effective arms.

This part of his order was however disobeyed by many, if not all of the militia, who came out—Resolved not to be exposed to massacre by this unaccountable conduct of their general, they furnished themselves, as well as they could, with ball cartridges.

In the afternoon, while the troops were ordered out, and while they were assembling, Mr. Johnson, mayor, went to the jail, accompanied by Mr. Hargrove, Register of the city, and together with gen. Stricker, judge Job Smith, Mr. Wilson, magistrate, Mr. Calhoun, brigade inspector, visited the gentlemen in the jail, to inform them of the efforts that were making, and would be made for their protection. They renewed their solemn assurances of protection, and told the party to rest satisfied, as the military would be out in a very short time, when there would be no danger of an attack upon the jail. A Butcher by the name of *Mumma*, and two others, understood to be prominent in the mob, entered the room in company with the mayor and remained after him. While the interview between the mayor, general, &c. and the gentlemen continued, this butcher was employed in observing, and most attentively remarking their countenances and their dress. As many of them were strangers in Baltimore, his object no doubt was to enable himself to identify them, and point them out to his associates, when the massacre should commence.—This very butcher did stand at the first iron grate and knock down the gentlemen as they were brought out. It was by him, so stationed, that Mr. Hanson was first recognized and shockingly beaten.

In the course of the afternoon the gentlemen were apprized, from various quarters, of the fate which awaited them at night, and particularly a gentleman of the democratic party, (who is nevertheless a man of honor, courage and humanity) after struggling in vain to provide means of protection, or to avert the danger, informed them of all they had to expect.

The door of the room in which they were confined was very strong: composed of thick iron bars fastened together, so as to make a grate; it enabled them to see what was done on the outside, while, if kept locked, it was capable of affording them a very considerable defence. That they might make the most of this feeble resource, in the apprehended absence of all others, they sent for the turnkey, and requested him to lock the door and give them the key. This he promised, but did not perform.—

They sent to him again and reminded him of his promise, which he repeated and again neglected. They saw no more of him until the slaughter commenced.

The militia having assembled in front of their colonel's quarters in Gay-street, at a very considerable distance from the jail—the general instead of putting himself at their head, endeavouring to increase their numbers and leading them to the jail, left them standing in Gay-street; and hearing that the mob had assembled at the jail in great numbers, he and the mayor, accompanied by John Montgomery, attorney-general of the state, went to them a little before sunset, to expostulate with them on the impropriety of their conduct, and persuaded them to disperse.

The object which the mob then thought proper to avow openly, was to prevent the gentlemen from being admitted to bail. An assurance being given to them by the attorney-general and the judge, that bail should not be received before next day, they are said to have declared themselves satisfied, and to have promised to disperse. Some of them, no doubt, made such a declaration and promise—with what intentions will soon appear.

General Stricker and Mr. Johnson, mayor, thought fit to be satisfied with these assurances. Some of their friends supposed to be men of influence among the mob, are said to have obtained similar assurances, and to have been equally satisfied. Be that as it may, the brigadier general, the mayor of the city, and the attorney-general of the state, left the jail with the mob still assembled before it, and went into the city proclaiming that every thing was settled, and all danger at an end. On this ground gen. Stricker dismissed a body of militia under major Heath, which he met in his way from the jail, notwithstanding the advice and remonstrances of major Heath, who exhorted them to go once more to the jail before they were dismissed, and see whether all was safe.

From major Heath he proceeded to colonel Sterett, and ordered him to dismiss the party which was under arms in Gay-street, an order which Mr. Sterett obeyed with a heavy heart. General Stricker then proceeded through the town to his own house, which is in a part still more distant from the jail, and in his way he proclaimed that every thing was settled, all danger over, and no further need of any protecting force. By this means dispersed a number of citizens who had assembled with a view of giving their aid.—When he reached his own house he shut himself up, and ordered himself to be denied, or was out of the way.

The dismissal of the military was instantly made known to the mob at the jail by their associates stationed for that purpose; and they regarded it, as was natural, as the signal of attack. They immediately made a furious attack upon the outward doors of the jail, which being observed by a gentleman who happened at that

moment to pass on horseback, he rode full speed to gen. Stricker's house, to give him the information. He was told that gen. Stricker was not at home: Inquiring where he was, and expressing a strong desire to see him, in order to give him the information. The gentleman was told that "Gen. Stricker could not be seen; and that if he could it would be unavailing, for he had already done all he could or *would* do."

The gentleman then went in quest of the Mayor, who fearing, or being informed of what had happened, had gone to the jail with two or three men supposed to have influence with the mob,⁴ whom he had engaged to assist him. With them he attempted to prevent the doors from being forced open; but his attempts were fruitless; and at length his assistants fearing for his safety and their own, almost forced him away. The attack then proceeded without further hindrance or fear of interruption; and when the violence of the attack upon the outward door to the east increased, a voice from within was heard, saying—"Come round to the other door."—which they were seen to do by some of the gentlemen in prison.

There can be no doubt that it was in the power of Gen. Stricker to prevent, or easily repel, this attack. Had he put on his uniform, mounted on horseback, put himself at the head of such military as had assembled, called for more force, exhorted the citizens to volunteer, and marched to the jail with all the force he could thus collect: Had he, as his duty and pledged honor required, taken post at or in the jail, even with the small body of militia which had assembled, the mob would unquestionably have been deterred or repulsed.—But he was blind to all such considerations, and left the mob to their course by dismissing the military, and infusing a false and fatal security into the citizens. But above all, after the massacre, when it was discovered that some of the persons thrown into the pile of the supposed slain were not quite dead, and might be restored, intelligence of the fact was carried to town. Upon receiving the information, a distinguished gentleman went to Gen. Stricker's house, and had him called out of bed. He communicated to the general the joyful tidings and added "the physicians will go out to preserve all they can, if you will furnish a guard to go with them." The general said he was fatigued, had lost his rest the night before, and it was an improbable tale, that any of the prisoners were alive. The gentleman urged and remonstrated, offering to bring him a horse immediately, but the general flatly declined, and returned to his bed to find repose—God of Heaven! did he sleep? he "who hath murdered sleep!" slaughtered honor, patriotism and courage, ensnared by treachery; betrayed the brave, and handed them over to the executioner to be tortured in a manner until now unknown in the annals of all time, to satiate the bloody appetites of cannibals, and tigers in human form. Have not ages of wickedness and barbarity and guilt, been crowded in-

to days. An all-wise and good Providence will avenge these horrid enormities.

The mob gained possession of the principal entrance into the prison but there was still two very strong doors to be forced before they could reach the party within. One of these doors detained them more than a quarter of an hour. Whether it was finally forced or unlocked is not known. When they reached the last door after a few slight blows it was unlocked. Bentley, the gaoler, was the first man who entered the room, to the best of these deponent's recollection, and was instantly followed by the mob. He was probably compelled to unlock the door.

From this it appears that a very small military guard posted in the first entry of the jail, especially with the brigadier-general and the mayor at their head would have been a sufficient protection. This was the post in which the plighted faith and honor of Gen. Stricker should have placed him. But his pledge was forgotten or neglected and the post was left wholly unguarded.

When the victims saw the danger approach nearer and nearer they calmly prepared for their fate, but resolved to make every possible effort for effecting their escape. They had three or four pistols among them and one or two dirks. It was proposed as soon as the last door should be forced, they should shoot as many of the assailants with these pistols, for which there was no second charge, as possible. Mr. Hanson dissuaded from this course, saying it would be of no avail to kill one or two of the mob and would only increase their fury and render escape more difficult. He strongly recommended that they should all rush among the mob, put out all the lights, create as much confusion as possible, and by that means many would escape. As for himself he would be recognized, but every man must do the best to save himself. All seemed at once to embrace the plan, but when the mob were about entering the last door, Mr. Murray and Mr. Thompson presented their pistols, the former saying very familiarly "my lads you had better retire, I can shoot either of you." It was replied "I can kill you," by the mob. Murray rejoined "I can kill any one of you first." Mr. Thompson was also disposed to fire, but General Lee and Mr. Hanson urged to the contrary, and the mob coming in were rushed upon and the confusion commenced.

The plan proposed by Mr. Hanson availed many of his friends who escaped almost, and some entirely unhurt, to the number of nine or ten, who made their way through the crowd in the confusion that ensued. But it was useless to himself because he was known by *Mumma* the butcher, who recognized and knocked him down after he had made good his way to the lobby as it is called, or hall of the jail. He was then dreadfully beaten, trampled on and pitched for dead down the high flight of stairs in front of the jail. The purpose for which *Mumma* came into the prison room in the

evening now appeared. He was posted at the door to mark the victims as they came out and designate them for slaughter, by giving each a blow or two, which was the signal for his associates who proceeded to finish what he had begun. The fate of Mr. Hanson befel General Lee, General Langan, Mr. Hall, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Kilgour, Major Musgrove, Dr. P. Warfield and Mr. Wm. Gaither, all of whom were thrown down the steps of the jail, where they lay in a heap nearly three hours. During this whole time the mob continued to torture their mangled bodies, by beating first one and then the other: sticking penknives into their faces and hands and opening their eyes and dropping hot candle grease into them, &c. Mr. Murray, Mr. Thompson and Winchester were carried in a different direction and not thrown into the heap of the supposed slain.

Major Musgrove was the last who remained in the prison room when the mob broke in. While the slaughter of his friends was going on in the passage in his view, he calmly walked about the room waiting for a fate which he saw no possibility of averting. At length one of the assassins came and called him out. He went and was attacked in the entry, knocked down and beaten till he was supposed by the butchers to be dead.

Some of the victims were rendered wholly insensible by the first blows which they received. Others who preserved their senses and recollection resolved to feign death, in hopes of thus escaping farther injury. The brave Gen. Langan lost his life by his endeavours to save it. He so much mistook the character of the monsters as to suppose them capable of some feelings of humanity. He reminded them that he had fought for their liberties throughout the revolutionary war, that he was old and infirm, and that he had a large family dependant on him for support. These remarks served only to attract their attention to him and to inform them that he was still alive. Every supplication was answered by fresh insults and blows. At length while he was still endeavouring to speak, and to stretch out his hands for mercy, one of the assassins stamped upon his breast, struck him many blows in rapid succession, crying out "the damned old rascal is the hardest dying of all of them," and repeating the opprobrious epithet of Tory! These blows put an end to his torment and his life. In a few minutes after his removal into jail he expired without a groan. His name will be immortal as his soul.

While Gen. Lee's mangled body lay exposed upon the bare earth, one of the monsters attempted to cut off his nose but missed his aim, though he thereby gave him a bad wound in the nose. Either the same person or another attempted to thrust a knife into the eye of Gen. Lee, who had again raised himself up. The knife glanced on the cheek bone, and the General being immediately by the side of Mr. Hanson, fell with his head upon his breast, where he lay for

some minutes when he was kicked or knocked off. A quantity of his blood was left on Mr. Hanson's breast, on observing which one of the mob shortly afterwards exclaimed exultingly, "see Hanson's brains on his breast!"

During these horrid scenes several of the gentlemen, Mr. Nelson, Dr. Warfield, Mr. Kilgour, Mr. J. E. Hall, and Mr. Hanson, perfectly retained their senses. They sustained without betraying any signs of life, or gratifying their butchers with a groan or murmur, all the tortures that were inflicted on them. They heard without shewing any emotion, the deliberations of the assassins, about the manner of disposing of their bodies. At one time it was proposed to throw them all into the sink of the jail. Others thought it best to dig a hole and bury them altogether immediately. Some advised that they should be thrown into Jones' falls, a stream which runs in front of the jail. Some that they should be castrated. Others again were for tarring and feathering them and directed a cart to be brought for that purpose to carry them about town. Others insisted upon cutting all their throats upon the spot, to make sure of them. And lastly it was resolved to hang them next morning, and have them dissected. Pointing to Hanson, and jobbing him severely with a stick, one exclaimed "this fellow shall be dissected." Being particularly desirous of insulting and mangling the body of Mr. Hanson, but finding great difficulty in identifying it; they at length thought of examining his sleeve buttons, supposing they should there find the initials of his name. It was insisted by some one present that he knew Hanson well, and it was not him but Hoffman. Before they seemed to have settled the dispute their attention was attracted to some other object. Dr. Hall, personally unknown, to all but one it is believed of the sufferers, was instrumental in rescuing them from the mob, which he did by a stratagem, which will endear him to all good men and brighten his course through life. He, with the aid of others not now known, induced the mob to place the supposed dead bodies under his care until morning, and conveyed them into the jail to the room whence they were first taken. There he was assisted by Doctors Birkhead, Smith, Owen, and a gentleman who assumed the name of Dr. Page, but is better known by the title of the "Boston Beauty," and was extremely active in assisting Dr. Hall, to administer drinks and opiates. Having examined their wounds, some of the Doctors went to town privately for carriages to carry off the bodies. By management they had induced nearly all the mob to retire till morning. Some of them no doubt being fatigued, retired to rest and refresh themselves. A large part followed Mr. Thompson who had been carried off in the manner stated in his narrative. Some perhaps felt sated with the cruelties already committed and withdrew. The remainder were in a measure exhausted, and the two democratic physicians, Drs. Hall and Owen had the address ultimately to prevail on all of them to leave the jail for the present.

While the physicians were gone for carriages, Mr. Hanson proposed to Drs. Hall and Owen, to convey him if possible, to Mr.

Murray's, about three miles off where his family was on a visit. He said it was likely he might live until morning, when if he remained in jail he would be again taken by the mob. He was told carriages would soon be at the jail, but upon discovering impatience Dr. Owen went out to see if he could be safely carried off at once. When he returned, Bentley came with him, and Mr. H. again urged his removal, upon which Bentley objected, saying, that he had no right to permit the prisoners to go away as they were in custody. He was answered by Mr. H. that the jail being broken open and the prisoners rescued by the mob and brought back for security, without being recommitted, he could not be blamed. Bentley replied, "very well, do as you please." A person then presented himself and offered to carry Mr. H. off, who fell and fainted several times upon attempting to rise. Dr. Owen recommended and gave him a glass of brandy, which he took, and was quickly invigorated and enabled with the aid of his deliverer to stand up and walk. He asked to be carried to Gen. Lingan, over whose dead body he stood for a moment, and was hurried off. When he got to the outward jail door he was taken on the back of his deliverer, who ran with him to the Falls, conveyed him over, and helped him over into a small garden opposite, where he was told to lie until called for. After laying some time wrapped up in a blanket he heard a wrangle at the jail, and concluded it was the best time to crawl away as well as he could, which he did to a place of safety, whence he was conveyed in the morning at day light, some distance from town.

Mr. Nelson and Mr. J. E. Hall left the jail at the same time Mr. Hanson did. The former though among the most injured, found his way to a secure retreat, within a few hundred yards of Mr. H. and was taken in a cart covered with hay, to the same house in the country where the wounds of both of them were dressed, and they were taken to Anna Arundel county without delay. Mr. Hall got unassisted to the house of a humane gentleman up the falls, near the jail. This gentleman dressed his wounds, put him to bed, and early in the morning sent him further into the country. The names of all the others who escaped in this manner are not yet known.

By whom or with what intention he is ignorant, but Mr. Murray was carried by some persons and laid on the ground by the falls. They left him there, probably supposing he was dead, and all went away but one. That person after all the rest were gone, approached Mr. Murray, and laid his hand upon him. He took the hand of the man and pressed it. He started with surprise and dread at feeling his hand pressed by what he had supposed to be a corpse. Murray then begged his assistance to escape which he promised, adding, that he was one of the mob, but thought "there should be fair play." He then assisted Murray to rise, and conducted him to a neighboring hovel, whence at Murray's request he went into town to inform his friends where he was, and conduct them to the place. The office he faithfully and successfully performed, though so much intoxicated as to be hardly able to walk. Murray's friends, thus conducted, came and removed him to a place of safety.

Gen. Lee was taken to the hospital, where his wounds were dressed by the physicians and he received every assistance of which his deplorable and mangled situation admitted. Hence he was next day conveyed to the country, and arrived at Little York, where he is said to be doing well. Major Musgrove, it is understood, was also taken to the hospital, and carried the next day four miles above Ellicotts' Mills, on the Montgomery road. A mortification having taken place in some of his wounds after he reached home, his life was, for a time despaired of, but the skill and attention of Dr. Charles A. Warfield, Dr. Matthews, and Dr. Allen Thomas, have preserved this gallant officer, and he is now out of danger.

Dr. Peregrine Warfield, Mr. Charles J. Kilgour, and Mr. William Gaither, all of them much mangled, were conveyed without molestation in a hack brought by the physicians, about four o'clock in the morning, to Ellicotts' Mills, and thence to the house of the father of Dr. P. W. about 24 miles from town. They are all recovering.

It would remain now to relate the last act of this horrible and bloody tragedy, which includes the fate of Mr. Thompson, now safe and recovering, in Little York, Pennsylvania. He was the unhappy victim reserved, for what special cause is unknown, by the butchers for their infernal pastime. His narrative already before the public saves us the pain of describing the unheard of tortures, which untamed ferocity delighted to inflict on him. His prayers to put an end to his sufferings by death, were inhumanly rejected as often as repeated.

Such are the particulars of this atrocious and bloody affair, which it has hitherto been possible to collect in an authentic shape, and a parallel to which is scarcely to be found in the annals of revolutionary France, even after the actors in similar scenes there, had become hardened by custom and familiar to deeds of horror, cruelty and crime. The blood-hounds of republican France, massacred by thousands, those obnoxious to their vengeance, but they dispatched their victims quickly, rarely ever resorting to such lingering tortures as the exclusive republicans of this boasted land of liberty and happiness have the credit of inventing.

It is proposed as soon as practicable, to obtain from each of the gentlemen a separate statement on oath of what he suffered himself, and of all that passed within his observation. Meantime the above statement must receive universal credit, every material circumstance being embraced in the introductory affidavit. The intended statements will be published, in order to give a fuller view of these horrible scenes. While they hold up to merited detestation those who by their active co-operation, connivance, or their dastardly and treacherous supineness contributed to produce the catastrophe. They will serve as a beacon to warn the civil and military authority of other places, of the danger of temporising with the most ferocious, ruthless, and bloody of all monsters, a mob; while they teach an instructive lesson to the honest, but deluded citizen, seduced by the syren charms of democracy.

The persons named in the above affidavit have read with mingled regret and indignation, the partial, mutilated and unjust report of the local authorities in Baltimore, while they have seen annexed to it with grief and amazement, the signatures of some worthy, and hitherto firm and independent citizens. Understanding that the justification made for the barbarous cruelties which treachery and black malignity procured to be inflicted upon them, is that an extensive conspiracy was formed to murder, or otherwise molest the citizens of Baltimore, the above named, do therefore solemnly swear that no such conspiracy or association even was ever formed, but merely a determination entered into by less than a dozen gentlemen in the country to protect the person and property of Mr. Hanson, and defend the liberty of the press with their lives, if necessary. This determination remains unaltered. The letters of col. Lynn, whose advice was volunteered, John Hanson Thomas, and Mr. Taney, have been disingenuously perverted to an unjust and infamous purpose.

Rockville, August 12th, 1812.

Narrative of John Thompson, one of the persons intended to be Massacred with general Langan and others, in the Jail of Baltimore, on Tuesday, the 28th of July last.

On Monday the 27th July last, I was invited by Mr. Hanson to his house; and in the evening about twilight, I went there and found from fifteen to twenty gentlemen in his house, most of them known to him. I was told that an attack upon the house was threatened that night, which they had made preparations to resist and defeat. I saw some muskets, pistols, and swords in the house, for the purposes of defence. After being there sometime, I understood an arrangement had been made, that in case of an attack, the direction of the defence was appointed to general Lee. About eight o'clock, a number of persons were collecting at the front of the house, who were very noisy and began to throw stones at the windows, and they broke several of them. The house was in front completely closed, the door and inside window shutters being shut, till the stones broke the glass, and burst open the shutters. Mr. Hanson spoke from the second story to the mob, and told them if they did not desist they would fire upon them, and he warned the spectators to go away. Gen. Lee, in the house told them not to fire unless it should be absolutely necessary, and the doors were forced. The mob continued to increase and throw stones violently, which broke the windows of the first and second stories. General Lee directed a volley to be fired from the upper story over the heads of the people in the street to frighten them away without injuring

them. This was executed, and nobody hurt. The mob huzzaed, were still more violent, and broke open the lower door. They were then fired upon, and a man fell at the door upon the inside thereof, who was immediately taken up and removed by some of the mob. This must have happened about ten o'clock, or after. Judge Scott made his appearance and came into the house, the door having remained open, after it was broken, and requested us to leave the house. He was told we should do no such a thing, that we could not be secure unless the civil authority interfered, that we were lawfully employed with Mr. Hanson in protecting him and his house against violence, and whenever the mob would disperse, or the civil authority interfere, we would retire to our homes, and not before. During the night we continued to defend ourselves, and never fired but after some new and violent attack. I believe it probable several were wounded. The mob during the night, retired and gathered again, and attempted some fresh damage. Just about, or before day light the mob brought a field piece, which was planted near the house, and in front of it, but it was prevented from being discharged by the arrival of captain Barney's troop of horse, some of whom were stationed round the house, six of them dismounted, and took possession of the front room on the first floor, and of the back yard. Hanson and his friends occupied the same places which they had done during the night; so things remained until Edward Johnson, the mayor, gen. Stricker, John Montgomery, the attorney-general, James Calhoun, Lemuel Taylor, and several others, arrived, and proposed that we should leave the house. We answered we had no objection to leave the house, provided the mob would retire, or we could get home in safety. The mayor said the mob could not be dispersed nor would they be satisfied without we went to jail, and that we should be protected from them in going to jail and while in it. To this proposal, most of us expressly objected. General Lee principally carried on the conversation on our part with the mayor and general Stricker. The Mayor, general Stricker, and Attorney-general, severally declared and assured us, that we should be protected, as well in going to jail as in it, and the mayor pledged his life and his honor that we should be safe, and that he would die with us, if we should be hurt. General Stricker expressed himself in similar terms. Also Montgomery, Taylor, Calhoun, and their companions gave us assurances of safety if we went to jail. After these assurances, and finding the civil authority would not make any exertion to disperse the mob, we consented with the advice of general Lee, to deliver ourselves up to the civil authority. The mayor declared his opinion that we would not be safe in the jail without a guard, and he and general Stricker promised there should be one. About 8 or 9 o'clock on Tuesday forenoon, we left the house and went under the care and custody of the mayor who

preceded us, and we were placed between two lines of infantry, consisting as it appeared of about fifty militia; about twenty dragoons mounted advanced before us to the jail; general Stricker marched on foot with the infantry, and an immense concourse of people were in the streets, some of whom went along, and we were abused in the most opprobrious language; some stones were thrown with violence at us, one struck Mr. Kilgour and cut him badly in the forehead, and another struck Mr. H. Bigelow, and nearly knocked him down. The distance from Mr. Hanson's house to the jail was about one mile.

At our arrival at the jail door and as we entered it, several of us were struck by some of the mob whom we found there. Being delivered into the custody of John H. Bentley, the jailor, sometime in the forenoon, we were put in a room in the common criminal department, where we remained the rest of the day. The dragoons and infantry left the jail soon after we were placed in it, and they did not return, nor was there any military guard afterwards. In the afternoon the mayor came to us in the jail, and assured us that there should be a guard, and that preparations were making to send one. He told us he would lose his own life before we should be hurt. Gen. Stricker was also at the jail, outside of it. The mayor having been with us about twenty minutes, went away leaving us in the belief that there would be a guard of armed militia sent to protect us in the jail. During the afternoon we were told several times by persons admitted to see us, that the militia were called out and assembling. Late in the afternoon, two butchers, one named Mumma and the other Maxwell, came into our room, the former having a key in his hand. Mumma asked me the names of several of the prisoners; I told him. Mr. Hoffman said he wondered Mr. Bentley should suffer so many men to come into the room who had no business there. Mumma answered, that he came there on Mr. Bentley's business. They were personally known to me, and to some of my fellow prisoners—we suspected their intentions were not good, and I inquired of Mr. Bentley if Mumma was a friend of his—Bentley answered he pretends to be so. I replied you ought to know him well before you trust the key of our room in his hands, and I proposed that he should lock the door, and give me the key through the grate. On the inside, the door cannot be unlocked, and there was the outer door locked. Bentley refused, saying, I cannot do so, as you are a prisoner under my care. The door was immediately locked by some body, and the mob very soon began to assemble from various quarters, but no troops were arriving. This excited much alarm in our room, it being after sunset, and we apprehended we were to be sacrificed. About dark, the back door of the jail was beset by the mob, who entered it without breaking it by force. By whom it was opened I do not know, but

by hearsay. They began to break down the wood and iron gratings in the passage leading to our room, which took them at least three quarters of an hour. They had the light of torches. The grating of our room was opened instantly without any exertion, which make me believe it was opened by some one having the key, and I believe, either by Mumma or Maxwell. The first person I recognised at the grating was Henry Keating, who keeps a printing office, and him I should have killed with my pistols, but for general Lee, who laid hold of my arm and begged me not to fire, and also prevented Mr. Murray from firing. It had been agreed that Mr. Murray and myself, being the strongest men, should first rush out and make the best of our way, and every person was to escape as he could.

Some of the mob rushed into the room, and Mr. Murray and myself rushed out, both of us armed. I had a pistol in each hand, and he a dirk and a pistol. We made our way through the passage and hall without injury, till I was at the front outer door, when I was struck on the back of my head with a heavy club by some man I had passed, which threw me forward from the head of the steps, and I fell headlong down about twelve feet. There I saw a gang of ruffians armed with clubs, ready to destroy whomsoever should pass down the steps, and six or seven of them instantly assaulted me while down, and beat me about the head until I was unable to rise.—Some then dragged me twenty or thirty yards while others were beating me with clubs; they then tried to make me stand on my feet, and looking round I perceived Lemuel Taylor, and I called upon him to prevent those men from taking my life. He told the men to desist, and said they had beat me enough, and begged them not to take my life; they said they would kill me; he again repeated that I was beat enough, and desired I should be let alone, and he would be security for my forthcoming in the morning. They disregarded what he had said, they dragged me along, and it was proposed to tar and feather me, and as I went along, they continued to strike me with sticks and clubs—one fellow struck at me with an axe, who missed me; when they had dragged me a considerable distance and into Old-town, they met with a cart and put me into it, and dragged it alone themselves to a place where they got tar. I had left my coat in the jail, and they tore my shirt and other clothing, and put the tar on my bare body, upon which they put feathers. They drew me along in the cart in this condition; and calling me traitor and tory, and other scandalous names; they did not cease to beat me with clubs, and cut me with old rusty swords. I received upon my head, arms, sides, thighs and back, upwards of eighteen cuts of the sword.—On my head one cut was very deep, beside which my head was broken in more than twelve places by other instruments, such as sticks and clubs. I received a few blows in my face, and very many severe bruises on different parts of my body; my eyes were attempted to be gouged, and preserved by means of the tar and feathers, though they were much

injured. About the same time, as I was laying in the cart, a fellow struck both of my legs with a bar of iron, swearing damn my eyes, I will break your legs, I drew my legs up, and he was led to think and to say he had broke them. Shortly after I received a blow with a club across my eyes, upon which I lay as if dead, supposing it would stop their further beating me; remaining so for some time, I was struck upon my thighs, which I bore as if dead: a villain said he would soon see if I was dead, and he stuck a pin into my body twice, at which I did not flinch, but I still remained senseless, as if dead. Another said he would show if I was dead, he pulled a handful of tar and feathers, and set fire to it, and stuck it on my back, which put into a blaze what was on my back. I turned over suddenly, and rolled upon the flame, which put it out before it reached too great a height; but I was burnt in several parts. I then raised upon my knees and addressed them, "for God's sake be not worse than savages: if you want my life, take it by shooting or stabbing." Often I begged them to put an end to it. Upon this one said don't burn him; another said we will hang him—one in the shafts of the cart turned round and said to me, "if you will tell the names of all in the house and all you know about it, we will save your life." Believing all the damage was done which could be done by them, I did not hesitate to say I would. They took me out of the cart upon the causeway at Fell's Point, and carried me to the Bull's Head Tavern: there I gave them the names of all the persons in the house, (most of them already known to them) which they took in writing, and the reason of our being in the house, which was to defend Mr. Hanson and his house against violence, with which he had been threatened. They detained me about an hour at this tavern, and offered me some whiskey, of which I took several glasses, being extremely thirsty and weak from the loss of blood. They then made me walk, with several persons on each side upholding me, towards the watch house, where they said I should be kept till the morning, and that I should swear to what I had said before a magistrate by nine o'clock, or if I did not they would hang me. On my way I was unable to proceed, and stopped twice for rest. When I first stopped, some of them said they had got all they could out of me, and they would now hang me. I rose and went on, and some who were against hanging me followed, and I was obliged by weakness to stop again, when it was proposed again to hang me, and one person said they would cut off my head and stick it on a pole. The vote was taken and carried for hanging me; but some said they should not hang me, that my life had been promised upon condition of disclosing what I knew, and that the information I might give them would be of use to them. I was then moved on to the watch house, and delivered to the captain of the watch about two o'clock in the morning who was told they held him responsible for my body at nine o'clock. I laid myself on the floor, a doctor was sent for by the captain of the watch, who came and having removed the tar and feathers, sewed up the wounds on my head, and dressed them. Between nine and ten o'clock the mob was gathered at the watch house,

and some were for hanging me, saying, that I had not sworn to what I had told them before a magistrate before nine o'clock, as had been stipulated, and one of them said the rope was ready. I observed it was not my fault, that I was not able to go to a magistrate, and that I was ready to swear to it if they would bring one. They then brought a magistrate by the name of Galt, who took my affidavit, in which was stated the names of the persons in the house; the causes of their meeting; and the name of the person under whom they were acting in the house. It was read aloud, and at this period the mayor, Lemuel Taylor, and some others, arrived, who said they would take me to the hospital out of the hands of these men. Mr. Taylor said he had no idea of seeing me alive. The doctor had lent me a shirt, and I was now provided with a pair of trowsers. The mayor sent for a carriage, but the mob said I should not ride in it, that a cart was good enough for me, and a cart was brought, into which I was placed, stretched out in the cart, and exposed to a hot sun. About 11 o'clock, I was carried to the hospital, the distance of a mile, the mayor accompanying me amid the noise of a great concourse of people. There I heard the groans of general Lee, in a room adjoining, who had been said to be dead.

After the crowd had dispersed, some of my friends, who did not think me safe, sent me a carriage, into which I was put without losing a minute, and general Lee was put into the same carriage. We were hurried away into the country, in our wounded, bruised, and mangled condition; we arrived at Yorktown, Pennsylvania, on Saturday evening, the first of August, where we received the humane and friendly sympathies and attentions of the inhabitants, and the medical aid of two gentlemen of the faculty.

Possessed of a strong constitution and in the prime of life, I cherish the hope, that I shall survive all the bruises and wounds, which have been so cruelly and maliciously inflicted by a wicked and lawless mob, and that I shall be again restored to the full use and enjoyment of my bodily powers.—Given under my hand this 6th August, 1812.

JOHN THOMSON.

John Montgomery, mentioned in the annexed certificate, is the attorney general of Maryland. We pledge ourselves to produce a respectable name, which is affixed, but which we do not at present exhibit for obvious reasons. We also pledge ourselves to prove, that George Williams, of the late house of Benj. & Geo. Williams, expressed himself in the same murderous manner.

Fed. Republican.

I do hereby certify, that John Montgomery, Esq. in conversation with myself relative to the gentlemen who defended the house in Charles street, said—"it was the most infamous proceeding he had ever known, and wished every scoundrel in the house had been killed."

NARRATIVE OF JOHN E. HALL, ESQ.

Early in the morning of Monday, the 27th of July, being informed that my friend Mr. Hanson, was in Baltimore, and that he was at the house which Mr. Wagner had been compelled, by the mob, to abandon, about five weeks before this time, after they had pulled down his office and press, I called to see him. I found him surrounded by about half a dozen gentlemen, to some of whom I had been introduced last summer, at his house, in Montgomery county. Upon my asking what had brought him to the city, he said the Federal Republican had been printed at Georgetown, and he had come to Baltimore to superintend the publication of it. I observed in a jocose manner, that he would have another house pulled down, and added that he would be torn to pieces by the mob.—He said he hoped not; if the civil authority would not interfere he trusted his friends would be able to protect him. I observed that I should be occupied during the day, but, if he desired it, I would spend the night with him. The offer was accepted, and I was desired to be at the house by 6 o'clock in the evening. About the middle of the day I called again, to ascertain what effect had been produced by the circulation of the paper during the morning, and to suggest the propriety of communicating to the mayor any evidence of hostility that might have been observed. I learned that several suspicious looking persons had called, and, upon asking for Mr. H. were shown to him; that the owner of the house had waited upon the mayor, and demanded protection which was refused. At neither of these visits did I perceive any sort of preparation for a defence of the house; if there were any munitions of warfare, they were in a remote part of the dwelling, far removed from public observation, and, therefore, only calculated to give provocation to those who obstinately and wilfully sought it. In the evening, when I repaired to the house, I found a number of gentlemen assembled, most of whose names are before the public. The mob were not less punctual. The street was thronged by eight o'clock, not with boys, but men.* There was no appearance of a civil authority at this time. A person was dispatched

* This I assert in the very teeth of the Report, with the confidence of one who expects to be believed, because he knows he speaks the truth. If there be any who are anxious to believe the Report of the Committee (derived from what testimony no one knows) in preference to the various affidavits that have been published, I ask how it happens that this insignificant collection of "boys" could not be dispersed, notwithstanding all the exertions of a "neighboring magistrate," and further how it happens that so soon after the gentlemen in the house were provoked to fire over the heads of these sweet little innocents, who were amusing themselves by breaking windows, &c. they become metamorphosed into an "assemblage of people" in the Report.

to procure guns. As soon as they arrived, they were brought into the house, and the door was closed.—The windows had probably been shut the whole day. The shutting of the door was followed by volleys of stones against the house, and torrents of abuse from the people in the street. When every sash in front of the house had been broken, and repeated attempts had been made to burst the door, Mr. Hanson appeared at a window up stairs, and cried out: "This house is my castle—I am about my lawful occupation, and will not be interrupted in this manner." The mob exclaimed, "tear the d—d tory out of his castle—break open the door," &c. Mr. H. continued: "I have arms in the house, and will fire if you do not desist." The assemblage in the streets being at this time very large; the violence increasing, and there appearing no exertion from the police to prevent it, some guns were directed to be fired over the heads of the mob. This was done; and the people finding themselves unhurt, made an attack upon the front door, which was broken open.—At this time I was at the head of the stair case, on the second floor. I could not see the front door; but I heard general Lee say, in a very mild tone, "I assure you, sir, you have now entered that door as far as you can come this night." He appeared, from the sound, to be standing at the door of the front parlour. The parley continued but a short time. The general, and the person with whom it took place, must have been within the house; or we, who were up stairs, remote from the street, could not have heard it; nor would general Lee, or any of our party, have been suffered, by the mob, to exist an instant at the front door; nor would any one have gone thither, because it would have prevented the sentinels at the foot of the stair case from defending themselves effectually. From these circumstances, and from the general belief of our own party, I conclude that this man (Gale, I suppose) was shot in the very act of breaking into the house. Mr. Scott, the chief justice of the criminal court, arrived at about ten o'clock, in the evening. He was immediately invited to enter the house; and a list of our names was offered to him. He was told, upon his requiring us to leave the house, that we were willing to do so when the mob should be dispersed; and that if the street were cleared we would immediately appear before him, and submit to whatever the law required. This the judge reported to the mob, but they refused to disperse, and he went home. From this time until towards morning, when major William B. Barney arrived with a detachment of horse, a desultory sort of warfare was carried on. The mob was fired at very rarely; and never without some violent provocation, and until after an urgent caution to all peaceable persons to withdraw. Within the house every thing was conducted with the utmost silence and regard to discipline.

When the horse approached, the mob fled. The major addressed them as "friends and fellow citizens." He said he was their "personal and political friend;" that he came "by order of major gen. Striker to protect persons and property," &c. They returned and cried out: "Then drag those d——d murderers out of the house." He said he meant to take them into custody: "he pledged his honour" to them "that not a man in the house should escape—that every man should be delivered to justice," but at the same time he begged they would go to their respective houses, like good citizens. Upon their demanding a sight of his authority, he took a paper from his pocket and they went a short distance from the house. What occurred there is not known; but the mob seemed to be well satisfied with the conference. Upon his return to the front of the house, a short conversation ensued between him and some of the gentlemen in the lower part of the house, in which the major said distinctly that he had no instructions inconsistent with our safety and honour. It was his business to preserve the peace and quiet of the city, and this, he said, he was determined to do, against any party that violated it. Major B. was then permitted to put a guard in the lower part of the house, and so matters remained for some hours, a part of our company still on guard, the mob hooting at the company, and derrelling with the troops, and the troops passive.

At length (at six o'clock, A. M.) the mayor arrived, accompanied by brig. gen. Stricker, mayor Colhoun, Mr. Montgomery, the attorney general of the state, Mr. Cumberland Dugan and some other gentlemen, of the democratic party, whose names I do not recollect. By this time some companies of infantry were also drawn up before the door. General Stricker, the mayor, and the attorney general went backwards and forwards several times from the "gentlemen in the street," as the general sometimes called them, to our party with propositions from the former to us. Our answer invariably was, that having assembled as we thought, on a lawful occasion and having transgressed no law we would not quit the house while our friend and his property were menaced by the mob.—These three persons then begged us from considerations of regard to the peace of the city and to prevent the further effusion of blood, to consent to go to jail. They all admitted distinctly and repeatedly our right to do what we had done—but they said the mob could not be reasoned with. It was thought we had committed a murmur and nothing would satisfy them but our submission to the civil authority. If we would consent to this measure, a military protection was offered, and a promise was given that we should be liberated whenever we thought it would be expedient. We offered repeatedly to go, if the mob were dispersed, but gen. Stricker, as often consulted the mob and brought their answer that they would not disperse until

we were confined or killed on the spot. This was about seven o'clock in the morning. We had been all night under arms without eating and little drink since dinner, the day before. The water unfortunately had been made useless early in the evening by a wounded person being washed in it. A majority of our party appearing to be inclined to accept the terms which were brought from the mob by general Stricker, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Montgomery, we prepared to march with our arms: But we were told that this could not be permitted on any account. We observed that as the military had been before the door several hours, and had not only submitted to insults themselves, but permitted them to be continued to us, there was no reason to believe they were able to protect us on the road. Mr. Hanson here exclaimed, "that the delicacy of his own situation prevented him from saying much on the occasion—but this much he would say. Alluding to these three gentlemen, [the ambassadors from the mob,] he continued; I know these men, better than most of you. There is no reliance to be placed upon them—they are not willing to protect you, if they were able. Remember what I say, you will all be sacrificad if you quit this house." Gen. Stricker, appeared to be much hurt by these observations. He approached gen. Lee, with whom the negociations had been chiefly carried on, and extending his hand, said, "by G—d Mr. Hanson does me great injustice. Gen. Lee, you are a soldier, and know the value of a soldier's word. I pledge you my word and honour as a soldier, that I will protect you to the utmost of my power, until you are out of danger, from this mob." Mr. Johnson appeared to be affected in the same manner, and exclaimed with considerable emotion, and a violent appeal to Heaven, "that he felt his reputation at stake in this business—that he was as much interested for us, as our warmest friends could be, and that he would spill the last drop of his blood, before a hair of our heads should be touched." Mr. M. was more cool. He contented himself with observing that such remarks were very unnecessary—that Mr. H. must see that every thing was doing which could be done, for our safety. Gen. Stricker then proposed to form the military in a hollow square, within which we should walk, each of us holding the arm of some respectable gentleman of the democratic party. As a pledge of his own sincerity, he offered to walk with Mr. H. and took his arm; if we declined this offer, he said he must withdraw the military and leave us to our fates.

We proposed to send for carriages and horses and ride to jail; but gen. Stricker after going to the mob, said that was inadmissible—the gentlemen in the street would not permit it.

Thus we evacuated the house, accompanied by only three or 4 democratic gentlemen, instead of an equal number with ourselves, as had been promised. I marched alone, with a pistol in each hand,

expecting to be sacrificed in the streets. Of our treatment on the march, I have no disposition to speak. Some persons, from whom better things might have been expected, called for the "Rogues' March;" and to that tune brigadier gen. Stricker, with his detachment of the Maryland militia marched to the jail of Baltimore county, amidst the coarsest revilings against us and the soldiery, and the most cowardly insults to the persons of some of my companions.

It was probably about nine o'clock in the morning when we arrived at the jail, where we were thrust into an apartment with white and black criminals. We were obliged to rest ourselves as well as we could on the floor, there being but two stools to sit upon. Our military guard immediately left us and we saw no more of them. About the middle of the day, there being very few persons round the prison, we called the jailer and told him as we thought we could depart with safety, we desired to be liberated. He objected to this, and we urged, in addition to the terms upon which we had consented to enter the walls, that he had no commitment. He went to town to consult judge Scott, and returned with a regular authority, as he said, to detain us, and the information, that we should not be bailed. I know, from the information of the person, himself, a gentleman of as much consideration as any in the city, that bail was offered for me, and as many others as might wish to come out, to any amount, and refused; although some gentlemen who resided at Fell's Point, assured the judge that they knew the ring-leaders and were confident they would break into the jail during the night. This refusal of a right and violation of a solemn promise may be explained by the report of the committee, from which it appears that the mob received assurances that we should not be bailed or suffered to escape. In the afternoon we were visited by the mayor. He and the jailer assured us that a sufficient force would be within the jail for our protection.—Several ill-looking fellows came into the cell with them, who looked about our room and at our persons very attentively.

How much the mayor might have done for our safety, even at this period of the day, and what were his anticipations respecting the events of the night, may be inferred from this circumstance:

A young gentleman, named M'Cubbin, a relation of the mayor's, was thrust into prison with us through a mistake, by the mob. We informed the mayor and jailer that he did not belong to our party. He was suffered to remain with us until twilight, when he was taken out, as we understood, by order of the mayor.

As soon as darkness commenced, the people seemed to spring from the ground like Roderick Dhu's soldiers: the jail was encompassed in an instant by a countless multitude, and the work of destruction commenced. As we were at a considerable dis-

tance from the outer doors, it is not known what resistance was made to them. They appeared to enter the outer doors without any personal opposition after ineffectually beating with heavy hammers a long time. Instead of the military guards which had been promised, it seems from the report of the committee that they were met only by "the mayor and a few others," and further that "the door was opened by the turnkey." How long three massy iron doors and one of wood might have resisted these attacks, it is not easy to calculate: but in time they must have yielded. As nothing was to be gained by delay, "the military" (which had been called out it is understood with blank cartridges) having been previously dismissed "by order of the general," with the approbation of the mayor, it was well enough to deliver up the keys and abandon the men, who had relied upon their solemn pledges of honour and their official oaths.

Well may the committee startle at the scene of horror which now ensued; well may they decline the task of describing atrocities which must cover the Baltimore democracy with everlasting infamy, which must make the names of the Baltimore police synonymous with all that is unworthy, ignoble, cowardly, and treacherous. They did not hesitate to publish the names of the gentlemen who staked their lives in support of the dearest rights which a freeman can boast, to rifle the pockets of the (apparently) murdered, to misrepresent facts, to palliate enormities, and compel respectable men to give the sanction of their names to an exparte, partial, and garbled narrative. They have described one of the most alarming violations of personal rights that ever occurred in a political community, and which was perpetrated with circumstances of ferocious barbarity the most inhuman that ever disgraced a civilized society, they were to speak of a general with a military force under his command becoming the contemptible fetch and carry messenger of a lawless mob, a Judge binding himself to the same gang not to bail men whom he had acknowledged had committed no offence, and police officers delivering up their prisoners to be butchered and yet not a sigh escapes them until they behold the mayor and turnkey conducting the assassins to their unarmed prey, and hear the unavailing prayers of the venerable Ligan that he might be spared to his wife and children!

We saw the mob beating at the iron doors at the extremity of the entry through the grating of our own cell. As there was no means of escape we prepared for the event with fortitude. Having but four pistols among us, it was thought adviseable not to use them; but when our door should be forced, we agreed to rush upon them, beat out their lights and then make our way as well as we could. I placed my pistols on the stove and joined Mr. Winchester who was standing immediately behind Mr. Thompson and capt. Murray at the entrance. The men at first went to the cell opposite ours, capt. M. observed to his friends "it's a pity they should kill the poor de la instead of us" and then cried out—"you are at the wrong door—here we are." Upon coming to our grate it was opened immediatly

without the slightest difficulty or delay. This was the third iron grate, besides the large outer door, through which they were to pass, before they could enter our cell. Mr. Murray cried out "My lads you had better retire; we shall shoot some of you—To the various replies of "how will you do it"—you can't kill all of us," &c. he said to one "I can kill you at any rate—with this pistol." The presenting of the pistol seemed to appal the foremost for an instant. We took advantage of their consternation and rushed upon them. Fortunately their lights were extinguished at the first instant. My two friends in front laid about them so effectually, that I reached the front door without any other injury than a few blows with fists, and owing probably to the crowd being so great as to prevent the use of clubs. I was about to leap out, when Mr. Winchester was knocked down by my side. I stooped to assist him and was seized by two persons, who dragged me towards a corner, and exclaiming with horrid imprecations that they would take care of me. This was in the hall of the prison, from the ceiling of which, or an upper staircase, a lamp was suspended. They held me by the wrists for about ten minutes, during which I saw several of my friends knocked down and their blood scattered over the pavement—They either cut or tore off my coat, leaving none of it on me but the cape and sleeves. Having thus secured my pockets, they tore my shirt leaving my bosom bare. All this was done without any precipitation, and as I thought I recognized some of them as having been in the criminal court, and engaged in other riots in Baltimore, at which I had been told I should be "marked," I concluded that I was to be reserved for some more refined species of cruelty. I made another effort, but just as I escaped from their hands, I received a blow on my head which brought me senseless to the floor. I was revived by some one jumping on my arm and I found myself on the steps leading from the front door, with my head downwards. It occurred to me to roll between them and fall under them, the height not being very great. But while I was feeling about, they cried out I was not dead and I received several severe blows. They dragged me a few yards from the door and threw me on a heap of palpitating bodies. Here we experienced the most brutal and indecent outrages. Gen. Lee, who was thrown across my shoulders, a considerable part of the time, appeared to be in excessive pain, and frequently cried out. His exclamations only excited new outrages and curses. When any fresh recruits arrived, he was pointed out as "the d—d old tory general." It was said that "he died true game—huzzaing for king George to the last," and similar expressions, to provoke further cruelty. They were very desirous to identify the person of Mr. Hanson, who lay across my feet the greater part of the time; and as he and myself were the smallest bodies in the heap, we were rigidly scrutinized. They could not bear the reflection that he had escaped; and had they been convinced that he was the person they sought, his death would not have satisfied them, but they would have torn his heart out, as a ferocious monster of Baltimore, who is tolerated in decent company, has since expressed her wish, and drank his blood.

Exhausted by the fatigues of two nights and a day ; and sated, if possible, with blood ; the cannibals would now have departed, had not one of them proposed, as the tories had all gone to hell, to give them a song. The proposition was hailed with acclamations, they joined hands around us, and a song was sung, which appeared to me rather tedious. The chorus, in which they united, seemed to run thus :

We'll feather and tar ev'ry d—d British tory,
And that is the way for American glory.

Before a new verse was commenced, the Orpheus, who made these beasts dance over our bodies, would propose three cheers for Jefferson or Madison, or some such worthy of democracy.

The song was at length interrupted by the arrival of Dr. Hall, the attending physician of the penitentiary ; a democrat to be sure ; but, unlike the generality of his detestable party, a man who fears God, and omits no opportunity of rendering a kindness to his neighbour. He addressed a man, as their leader (I think he called him captain White ;) he said he was as much of a republican as any of them—but his republicanism could not approve of such proceedings—It was shameful to insult a fallen foe, and shocken to murder our fellow citizens. He said much more to arrest their attention, and concluded by assuring him that some of us were dead, and probably none of us would recover. Much dispute had arisen whether we should be hung on trees, thrown into the Falls, buried in one pit, or tared and feathered and carted through the city—but upon a suggestion that the doctor sometimes wanted bodies to dissect, and that we would be very good tory skeletons, we were very formally delivered over to him for that purpose. So pleased were they with the notion, that some of them assisted in carrying us back to the cell, which we had lately left. A few of them remained with us, glutting their cannibal appetites with the sight of our wounds, and the sound of our groans. Our worthy preserver, assisted by Drs. Owen, Birkhead and Smith. Thomas Kell, esq. a gentleman whom I supposed to be Dr. Page, of Fell's Point, and some others, then administered to us, such cordials as they could procure. Finding that Mr. Hanson could move, I proposed to him to quit the prison instantly, lest another place of safety might be provided for us, by the civil and military authorities of the city. To this he acceded, and Mr. Harry Nelson agreed to join us. We were accompanied by Dr. Owen, and an unknown gentleman. At the door we shook hands and parted, with scarcely a hope of meeting again. Dr. Owen was to see them across the creek, and then rejoin me at a spot agreed upon. But I was obliged to lie down occasionally, from weakness, and at one period to conceal myself some time in a dark gulley, from the observation of two persons on the opposite side of the stream—and thus I suppose he missed me. At length, towards morning, I arrived at a house in the neighbourhood, where I was treated with the warmest kindness. The next day, upon hearing that the mob was exasperated by our escape, a carriage was provided for me, and I bade adieu to these scenes of licentiousness and perfidy.

J. E. HALL.

City of Philadelphia, ss.

On this 27th day of August 1812, before me Michael Keppele, mayor of the city aforesaid, personally appeared John E. Hall, attorney at law, who being duly sworn, did depose and say, that the foregoing statement is true, as far as the same relates to his own personal knowledge and observation. Witness my hand and seal this day and year aforesaid.

MICHAEL KEPPELE, Mayor.

Narrative of Otho Sprigg, Esquire.

On Monday the 27th of July last, I was in the house of A. C. Hanson, Esq. with some gentlemen from the counties of Montgomery and Frederick, and some residents of Baltimore, who had assembled there for the purpose of resisting a threatened attack upon the house. Muskets and ammunition were provided, and the direction of the defence assigned to general Lee.

It was frequently mentioned aloud by the commander and a subaltern, and perfectly understood by all in the house, that they were to act entirely on the defensive. Nor were the orders of the commander to this effect disregarded.

Under the solemn obligation of an oath, I shall detail nothing in the following narrative from hearsay—nothing which did not come immediately under my personal observation, through the medium of the senses of seeing and hearing.

About eight o'clock, a number of persons assembled in front of the house. Their conduct manifested strong indications of a design to do mischief. They were extremely obstreperous; and without the slightest provocation, began to pelt the house with stones.—The doors and inside shutters belonging to the front of the house were closed. The stones were hurled by the assailants with such rapidity and violence against the front windows of the second story, that some or all of them were speedily demolished. Some of the gentlemen who were within (particularly Mr. Hanson) made an unavailing address to the assailants, importing, that unless they desisted, those who were in the house would be compelled, in defence of themselves, to fire upon them. This admonition was several times repeated, without producing any visible abatement of the violence and fury of the mob.

Finding that no intermission of violence could be procured in this way, Mr. Hanson, after warning the spectators to depart, ordered the gentlemen in the upper story to fire over the mob. A volley was discharged, which appeared to do no damage. This, so far from repressing, aggravated the fury and exertions of the mob. The house was assailed with still more tempestuous rage,

the door forced, and all the window shutters of the two lower stories broken.

I was stationed in a small room in the back part of the house, with four other gentlemen, to defend it against an attack in the rear. We were positively ordered to abstain from firing upon the mob unless they should surmount the enclosure. In the mean time, an almost constant volley of stones were discharged at us, who were in the house and on the portico. I saw Mr. Henry Nelson's gun stricken from his hands, at the end of the portico, and himself receiving divers blows from the stones cast by the mob. Still general Lee would not permit us to fire. Nelson, too brave to desert, or even to complain of this post of danger remained in it for several hours, firm, and undismayed by the savage ferocity of the mob, and the terrible tempest of stones by which he was assailed, when he was summoned by me to aid in guarding the door of the room where I had the command.

The mob, after they had forced the front door, and broken the windows, continued, for a while, to hurl their formidable missiles with unabated vigor at the house, and those who defended it. At length, they rushed into the passage. I had, but a moment before, been stationed by the general at the head of the staircase to assist in the defence of it. The mob advanced along the staircase room. In company with one other I descended. When we had proceeded rather more than half way down, one gun was fired at them in my presence. This had the effect of driving them into the street. A Mr. Barney presently arrived with a troop of horse, and there was a cessation of active hostilities on both sides. Not another gun was fired from the house.

Mr. Johnson, the Mayor, general Stricker, and John Montgomery, came to the house, separately, or together. They entered. The necessity of an evacuation of the house was strenuously urged by them, and resisted by Mr. Hanson. About eight o'clock in the morning, however, the triumvirate succeeded; and most of the gentlemen yielded a fatal consent to be conducted to the public jail, as a place of safety, under a guard of sixty militia.

I well remember, that the deputies who negotiated on behalf of the mob, made repeated, and most solemn assurances of protection. They went so far as to pledge their sacred honors, that before the mob should hurt any of the gentlemen, they should walk over their dead bodies.—They also pledged themselves for the protection of Mr. Hanson's property. Mr. Hanson was, nevertheless, opposed to the surrender. He seemed to anticipate the heart-rending and tremendous result. We were, however, conducted to the prison. On our march thither, we were compelled to endure every species of contumely, insult, and indignity; two of the gentlemen were badly wounded, while under guard, in their way to the prison.

Arrived at this asylum, we were safely deposited in the criminal

apartment, where we were amused with a repetition of assurances from general Stricker, that the mob should walk over their dead bodies sooner than one of us should be hurt. These assurances, however, did not appease the inordinate craving of hunger during the day, which were alleviated only by the humanity of some gentlemen of the town, no materials for this purpose having been contributed from any other source.

It ought not to be forgotten, that we were told that we might be released on finding bail. Mr. Boyd offered to become bail after we were fairly housed ; but was told that we could not be admitted to bail.—This circumstance, added to the appearance of a large, and rapidity increasing assemblage of the sovereigns of Baltimore, in the evening, without a prospect of the redemption of the solemn and sacred pledge of the mayor and general Stricker, induced in my mind some suspicion of foul play. Self-preservation is a powerful stimulus to invention. Immured and unarmed, as we were, and without any means of annoying the Briarean Monster, that beset us, or of protecting and defending either ourselves or our friends ; it struck me that each of us should adopt the best means we could devise to avoid the projected immolation. Accordingly, about the dusk of the evening, of the memorable 28th of July, I quitted the apartment of my friends, and sought refuge from the impending storm, among the dregs of society.

In the passage I encountered the turnkey. This was not a time for deliberation. I immediately followed him softly into a room occupied by some negro criminals. From thence I pursued him with cautious steps into an apartment in the occupation of five white culprits, with whom I remained. I found there another of the gentlemen who had been conducted to jail with us, a Mr. Graham.

Whether the turnkey knew that I was following him, or whether he permitted it under the impression that I was one of the criminals, I shall not pretend to determine. I wore a coat which was not my own ; nor had he seen me in it before, if he did then.

Seeing so numerous an assemblage of enemies about the jail, and no guard to protect us, I entertained no doubt that all of us were doomed to bleed. Resigned to my fate, I threw myself upon one of the prisoners beds and fell asleep. In a few minutes I was awakened by one of the prisoners, and found that the mob had entered the lobby of the jail, and were endeavoring to get through the door, which let them into the passage, leading to the room of my friends. Having entered the passage, they advanced to the door of my room, which they struck three times with an axe. One of the prisoners, a Frenchman, by the name of Du Prat, [I shall never forget him !] exhorted them to use all possible dispatch in releasing the prisoners, assuring them that they would form an immediate junction with the mob. The mob paused, and pro-

mised a compliance with this request, after they should do what they wanted with the tories, provided the prisoners would inform them where they were to be found. One of the prisoners pointed to the door of Mr. Hanson and his friends. They approached it, and, after striking it more than once, it was opened, and a scene of indescribable horror ensued.

* * * * *

The door of my apartment and that of my friends, were directly opposite to each other, and separated by a passage. I had assumed a disguise, which prevented a recognition of my person. I had a red handkerchief about my neck, a white one about my head, tied under the throat, and wore a drab, instead of a blue coat. When the mob discovered they were at the wrong door, they squeezed my hand with great cordiality, and promised me a speedy liberation from confinement.

I saw many of my friends taken from the room, and most inhumanly beaten with bludgeons, swords, &c. Their helpless condition, the extremity of their sufferings, were sufficient to dissolve a heart of adamant. My sensations can only be felt. Language is inadequate to their description. My heart was pierced. I threw myself upon the floor behind the door of my prison, where I lay for some time, giving vent to the anguish of my soul in a flood of tears.

From this state of prostration, I was called by one of the criminals in my apartment to the window. There is not a solitary ray of compassion, or even of common humanity, to illuminate the gloom of diabolical atrocity that shrouds the behaviour of these savage ruffians. I saw them from the window, still beating, with remorseless fury, the hapless victims of perfidious revenge, whom they had dragged from the asylum of a jail. Murder was succeeded by theft. I distinctly saw the mob take something from the pocket of a victim, whom I supposed to be Mr. Wm. Gaither. He opened it, told his comrade it was money, and inquired if it was lawful to keep it? He was answered in the affirmative.

The mob, or many of them, continued in and about the jail the greater part of the night; and, perhaps, during that period, they never were absent from my door more than an hour at one time. They inquired after the tories, and threatened vengeance should they find them within.

Du Prat saved my life. He protested that none of the tories were there, invited them to search, and offered to forfeit his life if he proved to be deceptious. This would satisfy them for a while. Many of them, particularly Irishmen, would tell them to come away. "He is a Frenchman. He has no tories in with him." Thus things went on during the night. The next day they did not visit our door so often.

In the latter part of the night, the mob inquired particularly for several of Mr. Hanson's friends by name. But the next morning the object of their search appeared to be young Mr. ——. At a still later hour, (7 o'clock) they inquired particularly for Graham and Sprigg. This they continued to do till about 11 o'clock on Wednesday, when they were reinforced by numbers, amounting, it is supposed, to about 300. During the morning whenever they came, they swore that Graham and myself were there, and that they would have us. Du Prat, however, had always succeeded by presence of mind and address, in sending them away.

When the reinforcement appeared, they crowded the jail about my door, which they struck several times, swearing most vehemently that Sprigg and Graham were there, and that they would murder them. I was then concealed behind the door, and they looking through the grating. This must have been a trying time to the little Frenchman.—There can be no doubt, that he would have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the mob, if I had been found under protection. If he had been an attorney-general of a state, a commandant a brigade, or a mayor of a city, he might have proposed terms to the mob, and their victim might have been handed over for sacrifice. But as he was an humble prisoner, confined on a charge of felony, he had not yet lost all regard for moral obligation. He had promised to protect me; and he did it. By his address and courage, the murderous band were again sent from the door.

As they retired, they swore that we were there; that their numbers were not quite sufficient at present; but that towards night they would bring a force sufficient to carry the jail on their shoulders. I sent for the jailer, and desired him to go or send immediately for an attorney. He appeared surprised and not a little pleased to see me; and said that he would make application to judge Scott and the Mayor, for authority to release me. He took my *real name*, and Graham's, and was gone, I suppose, about two hours. When he returned, he informed me that he had an order from the judge and the mayor to release me as soon as the mob would leave the house, and that he was directed by the mayor and judge, to advise me to leave town as soon as possibly, and I would be no further molested.

This was early in the afternoon.—He left me, and I remained in dreadful suspense till twilight, when I began to suspect that my danger was equal to that of the preceding night. I was however called by the jailer, who told me to put on my coat and follow him, saying the jail was clear. The door of the prison was opened, and I followed him to the lobby or hall, in which I found a number of persons. This occasioned some apprehensions, which I communicated to the jailer. He said that my fate de-

pended on the moment: that to go out through them would be dangerous; but, to remain in the prison would be more so.

I took a round or two through the lobby, had some conversation with the jailer, and walked out unmolested, through a crowd of rough looking men, who had collected at the door. I then went home.

Graham left the Jail at the same time, at the opposite door.

OTHO SPRIGG.

Corporation of Fredericksburg, to wit:

Personally appeared before me, a magistrate of the corporation aforesaid, Otho Sprigg, who made oath on the Holy Evangelist, that the foregoing narrative is true.

Given under my hand, at the corporation of Fredericksburg, in the Commonwealth of Virginia, this 17th day of August, A. D. 1812.

GEORGE W. B. SPOONER.

Virginia—Corporation of Fredericksburg, ss.

I Robert Smith Chew, clerk of the corporation aforesaid, do hereby certify, that George W. B. Spooner, gent. whose name is subscribed to the above certificate, was at the time of subscribing and still is, a magistrate in the said corporation, and that full faith and credit is, and ought to be given to all his acts and deeds as such.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed the seal of the said Corporation, this 18th day of August, 1812, and in the 20th year of the Commonwealth.

ROBERT S. CHEW, C. C. F.

At a meeting of the citizens of Georgetown, convened at the Union Tavern, on the 7th instant for the purpose of expressing their sense of the outrage recently committed in Baltimore, and declaring to the world their testimony to the virtues and worth of the late Gen. LINGAN.—WILLIAM MARBURY, Esq. being called to the chair, and GEORGE FRENCH, Esq. appointed secretary.—The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

WHEREAS the patriots who established the government, under which it is our happy lot to live, devoted their exertions, and shed their blood, in order to protect the lives, liberties, and properties of their countrymen equally against unbridled licentiousness and individual violence—And whereas under our inestimable government, deriving its power more from reason than force, outrages have been committed against the lives, liberties, and property of the citizens, which the civil power has been found too timid or unwilling to punish: it has become the duty, as it is the right of the people, to express their opinions, and let their determination be known, so that practices big with danger to every thing that a man holds dear in life, may be arrested in their progress with whomsoever they may originate, or by whomsoever they may be promoted; and whereas we consider the freedom of speech, and of the press (at once the peculiar privileges of freemen, and the best support of freedom) as dreadfully endangered by the lawless violence of a mob, as by the force of a despotic power:

Therefore resolved, That we view with the utmost detestation and horror the conduct of the mob in Baltimore, which has at different times, violently destroyed the property of our fellow citizens, and then inhumanly murdered those who dared to make that opposition to their cannibal fury, which the laws of nature and society concur in approving.

Resolved, That we reflect with wonder and delight at the firmness and bravery of *Alexander Contee Hanson*, and his little band of heroic supporters, in a recent encounter with wretches, who with more than savage ferocity, attacked his life, destroyed his property, and butchered those who clung to him in the hour of danger.

Resolved, That the blood of our friends, inhumanly spilt on this memorable occasion, ought to be avenged by the legal punishment of the offending criminals.

Resolved, That in testimony of our deep sorrow, for the death of Gen. Lingan; a sorrow doubly aggravated by the horrible circumstances of his massacre—we, the assembled citizens of Georgetown, who remember with a melancholy satisfaction his endearing virtues while he was our fellow townsman, will for the space of thirty days, wear the customary badge of mourning.

Resolved, That a subscription shall be immediately opened for the erection of a monument to the memory of the departed general.

Resolved, That when the civil power formed for the protection of social rights, either through lukewarmness or timidity, suffers those

rights to be invaded or destroyed, their protection devolves on the virtuous and brave of society, whose duty it is to rally round the law and enforce its execution.

Resolved, That the attempts to destroy the liberty of the press by the mob of Baltimore, in pulling down the house and destroying the press of the "Federal Republican," with the attending circumstances, far exceed in atrocity and violence the cruel murder by the despot of France, of the German printer, Palm, for the free expression of opinion; and ought to meet with unqualified detestation from every friend to freedom.

Resolved, That although we confide too much in the good sense of our fellow citizens to apprehend any similar horrors in this quarter, yet being conscious that a state of preparation for danger is the only security in times of peril like the present, should any such outrages be attempted within our reach, we pledge our lives and sacred honor to each other, and to society, that we will cheerfully and immediately obey the call of the civil power; but should that be too slow to redress the wrong, we as faithfully pledge ourselves to rally round the laws, and support and defend with our lives the injured rights of our fellow citizens and the essential principles of our beloved republican government.

Resolved, That Francis S. Key, Esq. be solicited to deliver an oration on the death of our beloved friend and fellow-citizen James Langan.

Resolved, That a committee consisting of three persons, be appointed to carry the preceding resolutions into effect, and that the following gentlemen compose the committee aforesaid—Thomas Peter, John I. Stull, and George Johnson.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Spirit of '76

WM. MARBURY, Chairman.

GEORGE FRENCH, Sec'y.

Boston, Aug. 7.

Yesterday was held a regular town meeting, and one of the fullest we have ever seen, to take into consideration the subject of the alarming attack on the LIBERTY OF OPINION AND OF THE PRESS IN BALTIMORE, at which after a very candid and eloquent discussion, the resolutions which we publish, were unanimously passed. A number of the republican party attended, and only two objections were taken to the adoption of the resolutions; the first by Mr. Emes, who thought the recommendation to the citizens to provide themselves with arms, was unnecessary as there was no danger, that the peace of the town would be disturbed—the other by Mr. Blake, who thought that one of the resolutions implicated the president of the

United States. The first of these objections was replied to by Mr. Sullivan, on an eloquent and impressive subject of twenty minutes, and the other by the hon. Mr. Livermore to the satisfaction, we believe of the whole assembly.

The inhabitants of the town of Boston, have learnt with heartfelt concern, that in the city of Baltimore, a most outrageous attack, the result of deliberate combination, has been made upon the freedom of opinion, and the liberty of the press. An infuriate mob has succeeded in accomplishing its sanguinary purposes, by the destruction of printing presses and other property; by pulling down buildings that were merely leased to the conductors of those presses, by violating the sanctuary of dwelling houses, breaking open the public prison, and dragging forth from the protection of the civil authority, the victims of their ferocious pursuit, guilty of no crime but the expression of their opinions, and completing the tissue of their enormities, by bruises, wounds and murders, accompanied with the most barbarous and shocking indignities.

In the circumstances attending the origin, the progress and the catastrophe of this bloody scene, we discern with painful emotion, not merely an aggravation of the calamities of the present unjust and ruinous war, but a prelude to the dissolution of all free government, and the establishment of the reign of terror. It is beside, marked with a strong resemblance to the early excesses of the French revolution, when opinion was punished with death, and when mobs were employed in the breaking open of prisons and the sacrifice of many innocent persons who sought protection within their walls. Mobs by reducing men to a state of nature, defeat the object of every social compact. They are equally dangerous to the government they attempt to subvert, and to those which condescend to court their support and connive at their outrages. But of all mobs those which volunteer professedly in support of government are the most to be dreaded, unless their assistance is openly and promptly rejected. By accepting or even tolerating such dangerous allies, it becomes manifest that a government dares not confide in its own strength, or in the unbiassed approbation of the people. Opposition is discouraged to the violence of such a mob, because it assumes to represent and enforce the will and pleasure of the government, and the banditti, who unreprieved and uncontradicted lead the lawless multitude, feel the confidence of commissioned officers. In such a state, the civil magistrate finds an excuse for his inaction or a veil for his corruption. The sober citizen, who trembles in beholding the fury of the mob, seeks refuge from its dangers by joining in its acclamations. The laws are silenced. New objects of violence are discovered. Danger besets all men of all parties in succession. The government of the nation and the mob government change places with each other. The accessory becomes the principal. The mob erects its horrid crest over the ruins of liberty, of property, of the domestic relations of life and of civil institutions; until satiated or fatigued with slaughter it resigns its bludgeons and its pikes at the feet of a dicta-

tor, and raises its bloody hands to worship some god of its idolatry, to whose more tolerable despotism all ranks of men become ready to submit.

When it is considered that this country passed through a revolution, involving its dearest rights, without a single instance of ferocious and sanguinary excess on the part of the people; thereby affording a memorable proof of their moral feelings their virtue and enlightened character. And when it is also considered that the present unhappy war, so repugnant to the wishes and feelings of an immense majority of *native* citizens, does not involve interests in any degree compatible with those which were at stake in our revolutionary war, it is derogatory and inconsistent with the American character, that in the commencement of such a war excesses should be committed which the virtue of our citizens would not endure in a crisis when our liberties were in danger, and our country actually occupied and invaded by standing armies. We are therefore compelled to believe that the outrages at Baltimore, were instigated by foreigners, who in their own country, have been familiarized to similar scenes, and that French emissaries are the principal agents, and the few deluded natives who join them are merely instruments in their hands.

While these alarming scenes in a sister state excite in us grateful emotions towards the Almighty Disposer of human events for the quiet, peace, good order, and unanimity which we are permitted to enjoy, it behoves us to exercise becoming vigilance for the preservation of these blessings. Although a vast majority of the people of this town and vicinity are deeply impressed with a love of order, and a horror of mobs, we ought to have too much knowledge of the human character, and too intimate an acquaintance with history not to know, that a few unprincipled assassins may endanger the peace and lives of thousands of the well disposed citizens. While such wretches, who under the cover of night, attempt their enterprizes, are organized, united and systematic; the peaceable citizens, unarmed and unconscious of danger, are without system and without plan—until the scaling ladders of the mob are at their windows, and the torches at their doors.—THEREFORE,

Resolved, As the sense of the inhabitants of this town, that the late horrible proceedings in Baltimore, in first deliberately demolishing a **FREE PRESS**, and the house in which it was established, the repetition of that attack, after a long interval, the violation of the prison which has ever been considered a sanctuary both for the innocent and the guilty, and the barbarous massacre of one or more citizens there confined, for no other offence than their having defended their own dwelling, and the freedom of the press, after the civil authority had neglected or refused to protect them, merits the most unqualified censure and calls forth the most alarming apprehensions for the eternal peace of our beloved country.

Resolved, That while we are not disposed to an unreasonable jealousy of the constitutional authority, nor impute to our rulers, with-

out full proof an indifference to the rights of the citizens; we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that the president of the United States, in whose vicinity and for the pretended support of whose measures the excesses were committed, has not thought proper to interfere in any known mode of their suppression; especially as the interdiction of shipments by the rioters, and other outrages, are violations of the laws of the United States, and as the influence of his high station would probably not have been slighted by these pretended supporters of his authority. We still confide in the hope that the president will not think it incompatible with his high station, to express his disapprobation of these enormities.

Resolved, That we are alarmed, astonished and confounded to find that a paper published at the seat of government, and which is understood on some occasions to be its organ, not only led the way to these scenes of confusion, but has impliedly approved and justified them, and that while no mention was made of this late horrible massacre in which the blood of our oldest revolutionary officers flowed in the streets of Baltimore, a severe commentary was issued in that paper against the spirited address of a republican magistrate of New-York, because he expressed his abhorrence of mobs. We will not admit the conclusion which these facts would seem to warrant, that these mobs are not discountenanced by the executive of the United States, we would rather consider them of French origin and the first fruits of the unnatural and dreadful alliance into which we have entered in fact, if not in form.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every good citizen without distinction of party, to furnish himself forthwith with suitable arms and equipments, and to hold himself ready at a moment's warning to support and protect the magistrates and sheriff of this county in suppressing every species of riot, tumult, or unlawful assembly; whatever may be the political opinions of the persons against whom the same are directed; and that the hon. Daniel Sargent, hon. John Coffin Jones, major William Sullivan, col. Henry Sargent, Joshua Davis, esq. major Charles Davis, capt. John Cotton, capt. Henry Purkitt, capt. Ozias Goodwin, major Joseph Tilden, col. George Sullivan and capt. Jonathan Chapman, be a committee to prepare articles of association for this purpose, and to cause the same to be offered for signature to every citizen of the town: and to do whatever may be further necessary to carry into effect the object of this resolution.

Resolved, That the said committee be desired forthwith to cause to be assigned alarm posts for each volunteer or other company of militia, and to fix and publish the signals of alarm, and to communicate the same to the sheriff of this county.

Resolved, That the selectmen of the town of Boston be and they are hereby requested to take all proper and legal measures, which may in their opinion be necessary for the preservation of the public order and tranquility of the town.

Resolved, That we sincerely condole with the good people of Baltimore and Maryland, upon the loss of those highly respectable citi-

zens, who have fallen victims to the unhallowed fury of a foreign mob:—we consider them **MARTYRS TO THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY**; and to the survivors we offer an asylum from the rage of foreigners, and our assurances of co-operating with them in any measures to save our country.

Resolved, That those outrageous proceedings are in our opinion, attributable to the present wanton, impolitic, and unjust war; and are, we fear, but a prelude to greater evils justly to be apprehended. And that we perceive no refuge from destruction, but in a change of our present rulers; and that we are ready to support in the election to public offices, all those who are advocates for peace, without distinction of party.

Resolved, That while we abstain from all unconstitutional measures, we will maintain and exercise the freedom of speech and of the press, until our latest breath—undismayed by the frown of power, the glitter of arms, the threats of place-men, or the violence of mobs.

At a large meeting of the citizens, composed of all political denominations, of Saint Mary's county, on Friday the 7th day of August, 1812, convened at Leonard Town for the purpose of expressing the public feeling in relation to the violent and *savage proceedings* of the **MOB IN BALTIMORE**:

Col. **HENRY NEALE** was called to the chair, and **JAMES FORREST**, appointed secretary,

When the chairman appointed a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen:—John Rousby Plater, Raphael Neale, Athanasius Fenwick, Jas. Hopewell, and William C. Sovervill, who having retired a short time, returned with the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

We, the inhabitants of St. Mary's county, feeling the most anxious solicitude for the preservation of internal tranquility, and viewing with deep regret, the reiterated, lawless, and violent proceedings in the city of Baltimore, deem it our bounden duty to deprecate such outrages, as *destructive of the principles of all free government, and vitally ruinous to the peace, happiness, and tranquility of society*, and if not in time suppressed, leading to the worst of evils, *universal confusion and anarchy*.

Resolved unanimously, That we regard with detestation and abhorrence, every assault upon private property and personal security, and every assemblage tending to destroy the peace of society, that we recognize in them the principles which desolated France during her revolution, the embryo of an arch fiend, which if nurtured, may lead to the extinguishment of our liberties. Therefore, *Resolved unanimously*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the executive of this state ought to take immediate and *efficient measures to enforce*

obedience to the laws and constitution, to cause the sacred privileges of the citizen to be respected; to bring to condign punishment all instigators and perpetrators of such violations of the law; and to use every constitutional means to prevent in future similar outrages from whatever quarter they may proceed.

Resolved unanimously, That all outrageous violations and disregard of law, tend to the dissolution of the happy union of these states, that we regard the union as the ark of our political salvation; and that we pledge our prompt and cordial co-operation in carrying into effect every measure that may be embraced by the constituted authorities to secure its perpetuity.

On motion, ordered, That copies of the above resolutions, signed by the chairman and secretary, be forwarded to the editors of the *Federal Republican* and *Maryland Republican*, for insertion, and that Raphael Neale, Athanasius Fenwick, Gerard N. Carsin, James Forrest and Henry Gardiner, be a committee to forward to the executive of this state, a copy of these resolutions.

By order,

HENRY NEALE, Chairman.

JAMES FORREST, Secretary.

PRACTICAL PATRIOTISM.

CHAMBERSBURG, (Penn.) Aug. 10.

"The subscribers, Federal Republicans of the county of Franklin, and state of Pennsylvania, friends of the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, inclined to support our fellow citizens in the enjoyment of this liberty, and to manifest our opposition to every lawless attack on it; and not yet sufficiently servile to be intimidated from the exercise of our constitutional rights by the menaces of some of those who style themselves "Republicans," do agree to become subscribers to the "*Federal Republican*," a paper edited in Baltimore by Messrs. Wagner and Hanson; to suppress which, law, order and government have been prostrated in that city, by an infuriate mob, who with more than savage cruelty, and in execution of their purpose, have done a deed unparalleled in atrocity—Not only have they made a most outrageous attack on the liberties, lives and property of the editors, but in consummation of their villany have SHED THE BLOOD OF MEN WHO HAD GROWN GREY IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY.—Men that had "*braved the tented field*," to achieve that independence, security and liberty, which their assassins are now enjoying—men, whose aged spirits were still ready to lend their feeble frames in support of the laws, and liberties of the citizens.—And men, whose sufferings and death exhibit to a sur-

rounding world the weakness of the law—the supremacy of the assassin—the baseness and ingratitude of a people in a land where liberty was supposed to have her cradle, and the laws it strong hold.”

A. Calhoun, Jacob Oyster, John Calhoun, P. Campbell, sen. Matthew Wilson, James Sheer, Owen Aston, George Barnitz, Jacob Snider, Andw. Dunlap, esq. David Andrew, Michael Greor, Capt. B. Chambers, Jas. Findlay, jun. T. H. Crawford, Wm. Reynolds, Maj. J. Holliday, John H. Lang, Elias Davidson, Maj. H. Snively, W. H. Brotherton, Hugh Brotherton, Samuel Calhoun, Henry Ruthrauf, James Wilson, Alexander Scott, Stephen Riglar, Wm. M. Brown, esq. Thomas Johns, Geo. Chambers, esq. John Lindsay, esq. John Johns, James Hendrix, Geo. Hirst, Samuel Purviance, John Brotherton, James Work, Jacob Besend, John Maxwell, George Nigh, J. M. Clanahan, jr. Wm. W. M. Donald.

At a very numerous meeting of the citizens of Charles county, of different political opinions, convened at the town of Port Tobacco, on Tuesday, the 11th inst. for the purpose of adopting such measures as would restore the sovereignty of the law in the city of Baltimore, and to express an opinion as to the lawless acts which have recently taken place—

John Campbell, esq. was appointed chairman—and John B. Morris, esq. secretary.

Philip Stuart, Samuel Hanson, Clement Dorsey, esqs. and Gen. Caleb Hawkins,* and Col. Francis Newman,* a committee to prepare and report resolutions expressive of the object of the meeting; who, after having retired a short time, unanimously reported the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz—

Resolved, That the right to investigate the measures of the general government is guaranteed by the constitution of the U. States to its citizens, as the only means of preserving our political freedom; and that every attempt, by the agency of a mob, to impair this right, tends directly to the prostration of our republican government, and the erection of an horrible despotism.

Resolved, That we view with detestation every attempt to silence the freedom of the Press, by a system of terror and proscription.

Resolved, That the citizens of this state have a constitutional right to pursue whatever profession or trade may conduce to their happiness or profit, in any section of the state; and that any attempt to impede this right is unconstitutional, and merits the severest punishment.

* Democratic Republicans

Resolved, That the citizens of this state, in the exercise of their natural and legal rights, are justified, in the protection of their property, to resist force by force.

Resolved, That the attacks made by the lawless and blood-thirsty mob of the city of Baltimore, upon the office of the "Federal Republican," were outrageous prostrations of the security guaranteed by our constitution to the property of our citizens.

Resolved, That the temper of licentiousness so long existing there, which has humbled our state pride, violated the peace of society, and feasted upon the blood of our revolutionary heroes, has been nurtured by the indiscreet impunity yielded to its first manifestations.

Resolved, That the recent assault upon the jail of Baltimore, and the more than savage torture and murder inflicted upon our unarmed citizens, resting in delusive security, under the plighted protection of the civil authority, has disgraced our national character, weakened our confidence in the power of the law, and must tend to prevent all emigration to our state, and cause the banishment of our mercantile capital, and thus produce serious injury to the agriculturist.

Resolved, That the governor of this state is intrusted with the honorable and responsible task of preserving the peace of society and enforcing the execution of the laws, and that a forbearance by him to take prompt and constitutional means to suppress this growing temper, to bring to condign punishment the perpetrators of such barbarous deeds, would be utterly incompatible with the duties of his station, the only object of his appointment.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting, that unless efficient means are taken either by the executive, or a convention of the state legislature, to put down this system of terror and murder, that this happy country will be deluged by all the horrors of a civil war.

Resolved, That a deliberate and perfidious abandonment by a Mayor and Brigadier General, of an agreement to protect the citizens who confided themselves to their care, would merit the abhorrence of all honorable minds.

Resolved, That as evidence of our respect for the memory of the gallant Langan, and of our regret for the prostration of the laws in a section of the state, we will wear crape on our left arm for one month.

Resolved, That we at all times hold ourselves bound by our sacred duty to country, to be ready to repel any foreign invasion, and to co-operate with our lives and fortunes, to perpetuate our government of laws, established by the valorous achievements of our fathers.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Maryland Gazette, the Maryland Republican, the National Intelligencer, the Federal Republican, and Snowden's Alexandria paper.

Resolved, That colonel Philip Stuart, and Clement Dorsey, esq. be a committee to wait on his excellency the governor with a copy of these resolutions.

(Signed)

J. CAMPBELL, Chairman.

John B. MORRIS, Secretary.

At a meeting of the citizens of Prince George's county, held at Upper Marlborough, on Thursday, the 13th August 1812.

James Somerville, esq. was called to the chair—and

S. Addison, esq. secretary.

The following preamble and resolutions were reported by a committee appointed for that purpose, and unanimously adopted :—

Whereas, the bill of rights has declared, that the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved, and deeming it essentially necessary for the security of freedom that it should be unawed by power and unassailable by licentiousness, we have viewed with abhorrence and indignation the attempts which have been made to destroy this sacred right. Our indignation has been greatly increased when we have seen that the civil authorities in this state, instead of interposing their power in protecting its citizens in the full and free enjoyment of this inestimable privilege, have been silent spectators of the most atrocious enormities that ever disgraced a civilized community. We have seen with emotions of horror not only the invasion and destruction of private property, but the lives of our fellow citizens sacrificed by an infuriated mob, with all the merciless rage of the savage Indian, while they were nobly defending and supporting these rights which were guaranteed to them by our constitution—And whereas, this lawless force commenced their outrageous violations of the law on the 22d June last, and with impunity have repeated the most wanton acts of violence and bloodshed—believing as we sincerely do, that the liberty of the press is the palladium of all our civil, political and religious rights ; that they must exist, or perish together—believing that a succession of such outrages will not only lead to the prostration of the press itself, but to the destruction of every thing held dear and valuable by freemen—We do, therefore, in the spirit of that liberty, derived to us from the valour of our fathers,

RESOLVE,

“ That all persons invested with the legislative or executive powers of government, are only the trustees of the people, and as such, accountable for their conduct :” that therefore it is the right of the people at all times, either by liberty of speech or through the medium of the press, freely to examine into the measures of

government, to lay open and expose to the public the conduct of their rulers, boldly to set forth and publish any delinquency or mismanagement in their administration, that the people may see and judge whether the government committed to their charge has been wisely directed, and whether it has been conducted in such manner and upon such principles as may best conduce to the interest, the happiness and prosperity of their country.

Resolved, That if the liberty of the press be subverted, it is a matter of perfect indifference to us by whom. The consequences are precisely the same, whether it be by the wicked ambition or criminal relaxation of our rulers. The municipality of Baltimore have the power, and it is imperatively their duty, to protect the citizens thereof, both in their persons and their property, against all lawless force and violence, and to secure to them the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges—consequently, their failure to curb the unbridled cruelty and savage outrages of the mob, merits the severest execration and animadversion of all who duly estimate the peace and good order of society, and evinces a criminal acquiescence in a detestable usurpation of the authority of the laws.

Resolved, That from a deliberate and impartial examination of the report of the civil authority of Baltimore, we consider the conduct of the Mayor and Brigadier General as distinguished and characterised by perfidy and cowardice—perfidy, in not affording that protection they had promised to unarmed men, who had confided in their honor for the safety of their person and security of their property—and cowardice, in being deterred by the menaces of the mob from the execution of their duty.

Resolved, That the Executive of this state are the constitutional guardians of the law, and conservators of the peace of Maryland; and it is the duty to take care the former be faithfully enforced, and the latter inviolably maintained—when they fail to discharge the high trust confided to them, they still merit the severest censure of their constituents.

Resolved, That as a tribute of respect to the memory of the brave Ligan, who died in the defence of that liberty he fought to achieve, it be recommended to our citizens to wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days.

Resolved, That Francis M. Hall and Richard W. West, be authorised and requested to repair to Annapolis, and to lay a copy of these resolutions before his excellency the governor.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Federal Republican, the National Intelligencer, and the Maryland Gazette.

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Montgomery county, composed of all political parties, held at Rockville, on the 15 of August, 1812, agreeably to public notice, for the purpose of taking into consideration the late outrageous proceedings of the mob in Baltimore,

Col. RICHARD ANDERSON was unanimously called to the chair and Zadok Lanham, appointed secretary.

When the following persons were appointed a committee to report resolutions on the subject, to wit:—William Carroll, Col. Thomas Fletcher, Robert P. Magruder, maj. John H. Riggs, maj. Wm. Worthington, Abraham Jones, Esq. and Charles Evans—who, after retiring, in a short time returned and reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas we live under a government of laws, which if properly administered, can at all times maintain the peace of society, and afford protection to the rights of the citizen; and whereas, the constituted authorities of Baltimore have suffered a lawless mob to rise in their city at different times, and without prevention, to destroy the property of individuals, and at length assail their lives with unheard of circumstances of cruelty and barbarity; and whereas, by these outrageous proceedings a beloved citizen, gen. James M. Langan, has been massacred, and the lives of many more put in extreme jeopardy—therefore,

Resolved, That we view with horror and indignation the lawless proceedings which have been carried on in Baltimore for the last six weeks against the liberty of the Press, the security of person and property every privilege which is assured by the social compact.

Resolved, That we regard the massacre committed upon our fellow citizens, who were placed in the prison of Baltimore for security, under the most solemn oaths and protestations of defence and protection from the civil and military authorities, as in the highest degree derogatory to civilized society, and a blot which cannot be effaced from the character of the emporium of the state.

Resolved, That by forbearing all interference for so long a period to restore the reign of the laws, and to afford to the citizens that security from injury, which is the direct and most essential end of government, the executive of this state has justly incurred the loss of all confidence; and our delegates to the next general Assembly, are hereby requested, if they see proper, to promote an effectual investigation of the cause of this alarming apathy, to the end that it may be followed by the constitutional animadversion which may be found appropriate.

Resolved, That mobs are the sores of a free government, which if at first disregarded, will immediately spread over the body politic, to the prostration of the laws and the subversion of society; and that we will ever hold ourselves pledged to use every exertion to prevent them from taking root in our land.

Resolved, That when the constituted authorities, through weakness or corruption, fail to give protection to the citizen, he has a right to protect himself by armed force, if necessary.

Resolved, That the Liberty of Speech and of the Press, ought to be inviolably preserved.

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly are due to Alexander C. Hanson and his heroic companions, who with unexampled bravery and magnanimity risked their lives in defence of this Palladium of our rights, this surest safeguard against the subversion of our constitution, and the establishment of tyranny on its ruins.

Resolved, That we feel penetrated with the deepest sorrow for the loss of our virtuous, brave and patriotic fellow citizen and friend general James M. Ligan, who will ever be remembered as the tender husband, the indulgent father, the honoured and beloved neighbor, the brave revolutionary hero, the magnanimous patriot, who loved his country better than his own life.---

Resolved, That in testimony of our love and esteem for his numerous virtues, and in commemoration of the glorious cause in which he expired, a Monument be erected to his memory, and that a committee be appointed to superintend the raising of subscriptions, and to correspond with the committees appointed for the same purpose in other places.

Resolved, That we recommend to the citizens of Montgomery county to wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days.

Resolved, That we feel deeply impressed with sentiments of gratitude to that Over ruling Providence, without whose superintending care those of our injured friends who survived that dreadful night, could never have been preserved, amidst the dangers and cruelties to which they were exposed.

Resolved, That Charles Gassaway, Col. Richard Anderson, Jas. Lackland, Henry Howard (of John) and Ezekiah Linthicum, be a committee to carry these resolutions into effect.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be signed by the Chairman, and attested by the secretary, and that they be published in the Spirit of Seventy-six, Federal Republican, National Intelligencer, and Fredericktown Herald.

RICHARD ANDERSON, Chairman.
ZADOK LANHAM, Secretary.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Montgomery county, in and near Unity, convened at Chamber's Tavern, on the 19th of August, 1812. The object of the meeting being first explained by Mr. Thomas Davis.

Mr. Samuel Robertson, 3d, was called to the chair, and Mr. Frederick Bowman, appointed Secretary.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, the numerous acts of daring violence, in the emporium of Maryland, afforded evidence of an extensive combination to destroy the rights of the people, by silencing constitutional opposition to the measures of administration, prostrating the press,

violating the rights of property and person, and establishing a system of terror and proscription, hitherto unknown in this free country—and whereas, some of the best blood of the nation has been inhumanly shed for resisting the usurpation and tyranny of a mob, organized and directed by men, who are a dishonor to their species, and a reproach to their country—and whereas, the machinations and crimes of this merciless set have deprived us of one of our most beloved and venerable citizens, whose revolutionary services and private and public virtues, endeared him to all who had an opportunity of knowing him ;—Therefore,

Resolved, that we hold in the greatest abhorrence, not only the instigators and promoters of the mobs, by which the most unhallowed and horrible enormities have been perpetrated, but likewise those through whose connivance, apathy or breach of plighted honor, those destructive outrages were committed.

Resolved, That we expect from the next house of delegates, as the immediate guardians of our privileges, a thorough investigation of these disgraceful and alarming occurrences, that their high authority may be firmly and perseveringly exerted to restore the reputation of the civil community under their charge, by bringing to justice in a fit and constitutional manner all instigators and accessaries ; by making suitable provisions against any future overthrow of the laws ; and by extending to the injured parties such countenance and support, as may be a monument of the magnanimous consideration of the state for those who have been sacrificed.

Resolved, That we request the delegates from this county to make application to the next General Assembly, for the grant of a lot of public ground, in Rockville, to be vested in trustees forever, for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of our late beloved fellow-citizen, Gen. James M. Ligan, as a memorial of his virtues, of his services in the glorious war of our revolution, and particularly of the last characteristic act of his life, which he nobly devoted in protecting the sacred right of the people to a free press, and endeavoring to preserve inviolate the rights of person and property.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the inhabitants of this county to wear some public badge of mourning for the space of thirty days, for our venerable fellow citizen, General James M. Ligan.

Resolved, That in case our friends and fellow-citizens, who defended the house in Charles street, should be called to Baltimore for legal investigation, we deem it the indispensable duty of the executive to order out an adequate military force to repel any violence that the mob may attempt against their persons, and we pledge ourselves to obey with promptitude such call of the executive.

Resolved, That it be recommended to every man, capable of bearing arms, to hold himself in readiness to support the constitution and laws of the state, against every species of usurpation and turbulence, and we hereby, in the presence of God and our country, pledge to each other our honor, that we will part with our rights and privileges only with our lives.

Resolved, That our confidence in the patriotism and public virtues of our fellow citizen, A. C. Hanson, esq. is increased; and we tender our thanks to him, and his gallant and meritorious associates, for the undismayed valor and resolution, with which they have maintained the people's rights and privileges.

Resolved, That in so doing, they exercised one of the most valuable privileges of freemen, in a manner marked no less by intrepidity, than by forbearance and moderation.

Resolved, That it be recommended to our fellow-citizens to withhold all intercourse with the city of Baltimore, until order be restored, and the laws of the state again respected in that city.

Resolved, That the inhabitants of Boston, the cradle of Liberty, are entitled to our thanks for their sympathy in the occurrences which afflict us—that we view with high approbation the manly and determined stand they have made upon their rights.

Resolved, That this meeting is deeply penetrated by a sense of gratitude to an all-wise and superintending Providence, whose protecting care was discernable throughout the massacre, from which so many of our beloved fellow-citizens were miraculously rescued, and we believe it has pleased the Almighty to preserve them for good and wise purposes, connected with his beneficence, and known only to his infinite wisdom.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, attested by the Secretary, and published in the Frederick-Town Herald, the Spirit of Seventy-six, and the Federal Republican.

S. ROBERTSON, 3d, Chairman.

Fred^k Bowman, Sec'y.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the people of Somerset county, Maryland, convened at Princess Anne on Tuesday, the 11th day of August, by public notice, to take into consideration the state of our affairs generally, and to express their sentiments of the late melancholy and shocking tragedy acted in Baltimore; after a handsome and appropriate introductory address from major A. I. Carroll, explaining the objects for which they were convened—

Gen. Levin Winder, was unanimously called to the chair, and Col. George Handy, appointed secretary.

A committee of the seven following gentlemen was appointed to draught and report resolutions suitable to the occasion :—Littleton Dennis, senr. H. J. Carroll, George W. Jackson, James Murray, Robert J. Henry, Thomas Bayly, and John C. Wilson, sen. The committee, after retiring a short time, returned and reported the following resolutions, which were adopted without a dissenting voice. Before the question was put upon the passage of the resolution, Mr. Thomas Bayly explained at large to the meeting the objects for which they were assembled, and drew a spirited and affecting picture of the late horrible affair in Baltimore. Mr. Littleton Dennis, sen. then rose, and in a masterly and luminous style, depicted the present calamitous situation of our country ; entered into a detailed history of the proceedings of the administration ; gave a most lively and affecting description of the outrages committed in Baltimore ; and ended by recommending a change of the officers of government as the only means of effecting a change of measures, and by pledging himself to oppose the re-election of Mr. Madison. After the passage of the resolutions the meeting adjourned. The utmost harmony prevailed throughout ; not a single circumstance occurred to interrupt it.—Indeed the people seemed to be animated by but one sentiment.

Whereas, the constitution and bill of rights of the state of Maryland, guarantee to the citizens the freedom of the press, and of speech, and the privilege of assembling together, at all times, but more especially in a period of great difficulty and danger, to consult for the common good, to examine the conduct of their rulers, and the tendency of their measures ; fearlessly to warn their fellow citizens of the dangers which surround them, and to rescue their common country from impending ruin—and whereas, the privileges thus guaranteed to the freemen of this state have been most wantonly violated by a mob in the city of Baltimore, who have triumphed over the majesty of the laws ; put down the civil authority ; destroyed the freedom of the press ; murdered and inhumanly butchered some of our best citizens (two of them revolutionary officers ;) have invaded and destroyed private dwellings, and commenced a system of proscription equalled only in the bloody reign of Robespierre.

THEREFORE,

1. Resolved, That we are firmly attached to the purity, simplicity, and excellence of the constitution of the United States, and of this state, and will forever cling to them as the best palladium of our civil and religious liberties.

2. Resolved, That as good citizens we will obey and support all existing laws, and will exert our best efforts in the defence of our common country, against any foreign enemy whatever.

3. Resolved, that our free government was instituted for the good of the people, that the officers thereof are the agents of the people, and are at all times responsible to them, and that a state of war does not destroy or diminish the rights of the citizens to examine the conduct of the public men, and the tendency of public measures.

4. Resolved, That we view as traitors to republican principles, all who shall attempt in any wise to destroy or abridge the freedom of the press, the liberty of debate, and the constitutional privilege of freely animadverting upon public men and measures.

5. Resolved, That we view with detestation the sanguinary and murderous proceedings which have disgraced and tarnished the character of the city of Baltimore, the great emporium of our state, by a wicked and infuriated mob—who have lawlessly trampled upon the civil magistracy of the city, prostrated the liberty of the press, invaded and destroyed private property, and by proscriptions and threats have silenced the freedom of speech, and we lament that the civil authority, aided by the military, should tamely yield the government of that populous city to the despotism of an insignificant banditti, and suffer valuable citizens who had placed themselves under their guardianship, with the promise of protection, to be inhumanly butchered.

6. Resolved, That the conduct of the noble few in Baltimore, who generously offered their services, for the protection of the person and property of a meritorious citizen, from the assault of a savage mob, merits and receives our warmest thanks; that we consider their surrender to the civil authority (setting a noble example of subordination to the laws) as a most heroic self-devotion in the cause of the constitution, and that as that authority has been declared incompetent, the criminal court shut, and the city declared in a state of outlawry by a grand jury, the executive of Maryland, ought immediately to cause the ringleaders to be apprehended for trial.

7. Resolved, That the editors of the Federal Republican are entitled to the thanks of this meeting, for the spirited efforts they have made to disseminate correct principles throughout the state.

8. Resolved, That this meeting sympathize with the afflicted family of the deceased general Langan, and condole with the people of Montgomery particularly, and of the United States at large, upon the loss of so valuable a citizen.

9. Resolved, That the series of commercial restrictions imposed by our general government, have dried up the sources of our revenue, impoverished our merchants and farmers, and at a late precipitate and unnecessary declaration of war; without

navy to protect thousands of our merchant ships now afloat on the ocean—and the other necessary means of self-defence, too plainly evince that our rulers are incompetent to the high trust reposed in them, or totally regardless of the true interest of their country.

10. Resolved, That having no confidence in our rulers, who have destroyed the freedom of debate in congress, turned a deaf ear to the repeated respectful petitions and remonstrances of an injured and suffering people; we will use our utmost exertions, in concert with the friends of peace and commerce throughout the Union, to procure by fair and constitutional means the election of such men as understand and respect our rights and interests, and who will again restore our country to the proud eminence she occupied under the administration of the illustrious Washington.

11. Resolved, That to preserve the union of the states according to the true spirit of the constitution, it is indispensable that the government should be administered upon liberal and national principles; that the repeated and continual selection of a citizen from a particular state, to discharge the high and responsible duties of chief magistrate, has a tendency to give to that state an undue and dangerous influence over the national councils; and that in the approaching election of president, we feel it a solemn duty to exert all the lawful means in our power to designate, and elevate to the chief magistracy, one who shall feel no impulse in his official acts, but the love of country, and who will know no guide but the constitution.

12. Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and attested by the secretary, and be published in the different newspapers in the union.

LEVIN WINDER, Chairman,

Attest, George Handy, Secretary.

At a respectable meeting of the citizens of the county of Loudoun, held in pursuance of public notice, at the court house in the town of Leesburg, on Thursday the 13th day of August, 1812, to take into consideration the late riots in the city of Baltimore, maj. Burr Powell was called to the chair, and Richard H. Henderson, Esq. appointed secretary of the meeting, when the following preamble and resolutions were submitted to the meeting and unanimously adopted.

Connected with the state of Maryland, by geographical situation and by social as well as political ties, and with the city of Baltimore, by commercial intercourse, the people of Loudoun cannot continue silent spectators of enormities, hitherto unknown in the United States of America, but through the narratives of

foreign travels, or the history of distant nations. Enormities which have driven into exile many of the worthiest citizens of Baltimore, and spread among their remaining friends such terror and dismay, that no satisfactory investigation has yet awhile disclosed their extent, character, and circumstances, but which obviously springing from the most detestable passions, and perpetrated by the most hardened instruments of guilt, unblushingly seek their justification, by impious appeals, through incendiary presses, for public opinion.

For us, it suffices to know, that a vessel regularly cleared from the custom house of Baltimore, under the law of the U. States, freighted with the produce of our lands and labour, and sailing for a foreign market, was forcibly turned from her course, brought back to the port she had left, and dismantled by a mob, which some presses have openly justified, and which no authority has yet awhile been exerted to punish.

That the Press and Printing office of the Federal Republican have been violently put down and levelled with the ground, by an inconsiderable number of persons acting not only without restraint, but apparently with the approbation of the civil authority, created for the preservation of order among forty thousand people.

That five weeks after the destruction of the Press, the dwelling house of one of its editors, while occupied by himself and many of his friends, assembled and armed for its defence from similar outrage, was, by the same mob, assaulted, broke open, and plundered, and the lives of its gallant, but forbearing defenders immediately endangered, without an interposition by the civil authority, of a force sufficient to protect them.

That, that authority, instead of dispersing the rioters, began a negociation with them, which finally ended in conducting to jail, the defenders of whatever is most sacred among men—home, liberty and life, and in leaving their ruffian assailants at large, to re-assemble, and plan anew, the means of destruction for their imprisoned victims.

That those generous captives who were led to a dungeon, amidst the exulting and insolent shouts of a triumphant mob, were induced to quit their habitation; to abandon their lawful purpose, its defence, and to surrender those arms on which they had successfully relied for their security, in consequence of a solemn pledge from the civil and military authority that they should find in their temporary prison that safety from violence which they had sought in vain from the laws.

That, in fulfilment of this pledge, troops were ordered out for the protection of the jail, with an express injunction to take with them only blank cartridges (or cartridges without ball) an order

which may, on account of its obvious absurdity ; and many more from a disinclination to the service, refused, or failed to obey.

That the few brave and faithful men who did assemble to protect the ail, were dismissed on the approach of night, by that very authority which had solemnly pledged itself for the security of the unfortunate prisoners, and this too, notwithstanding the frequent and earnest remonstrances and entreaties of themselves and their friends for additional forces to defend them ; and notwithstanding also, the general consternation of the past day, in which a criminal court and grand jury sitting in Baltimore, had, through mutual alarm, suspended their important functions ; and groups of agitated citizens were deploring the unhappy condition of their degraded city, and apprehending some fearful calamity.

That night had no sooner descended on the devoted captives, than they were aroused to their approaching sacrifice, by a piercing and horrible shout from their blood-thirsty pursuers. The miserable emblem of authority who stood before the door, rather as the pioneer of the mob than as the defenders of the jail, is, in an instant, thrust aside : the outward door, through fear or treachery, throw open by the keeper ; the sons of murder break down the remaining barriers of defence ; enter the cell of the disarmed and unresisting captives, and a scene ensues of indelible horror. The cries of "down, down with them" followed by the ferocious yells of savage triumph, are heard at a distance, across the darkness and silence of night, mingled with the groans of misery and the exclamations of despair. Neither the veneration due to grey hairs, unsullied by reproach, nor admiration for valor, nor gratitude for patriotic services, much less claims of youth, genius, and learning, offered any protection from indiscriminate fury. Those who escaped in the darkness and confusion of the night, owe their preservation to chance, their own ingenuity, or that of their friends, who, by degrees, though unarmed themselves, press through the promiscuous crowd of ruffians and appalled spectators. One of these witnessed the last moments of that patriot and hero, the good, the amiable, the Gallant General James Ligan. Covered with bruises and wounds, he just raised his aged head, and asked of the monsters, "permission to die in peace." when one of them, with uplifted club, replied, "you damned old scoundrel a'nt you dead yet" and struck the venerable hero lifeless to the earth. At the sight of this, a bystander fainted and fell senseless in the arms of those around him.

Over these scenes of horror, we would willingly spread a mantle, thicker than that of the awful night which witnessed them, but that they disclose a truth necessary to be known, though humiliating indeed, to every American heart, that man, whatever we may have hitherto boasted in the favour of national

partiality, is the same in the new as in the old world; unrestrained by religion and by law, and impelled by sanguinary passions, he is every where a monster, as ferocious and blood-thirsty as the hyena or tiger!—Wherefore,

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the riots in the city of Baltimore, with all the circumstances accompanying and following them, are a national calamity, involving in danger our property, liberty, and lives, and tending to impair our hitherto unlimited confidence in our laws, institutions and manners.

Resolved, That every press has a right, at all times, whether of war or peace, to canvass freely the wisdom, justice, or policy of public measures, and the character, conduct and motives of public men, subject to no other restraint than that of constitutional laws; and the late destruction of a free press, by the mob of Baltimore, is equalled in violence and atrocity, only by the cruel murder of the German printer, Palm, by the despot of France, and ought to meet with equal detestation from every friend of freedom.

Resolved, That every man has an undoubted right, to defend by force, against all illegal violence, threatening the security of either his dwelling and his life; and that he is entitled to ask, and morally speaking, to demand and to use the aid of his fellow citizens, and of whatever arms he or they can procure for the defence and preservation of either, until that public authority, to whom the law has especially confided the protection of every citizen, shall render such private exertion no longer necessary.

Resolved, That no editor of a newspaper can honorably, justly, or legally abandon that press, which he has bound himself, by express contract with his subscribers, and an implied engagement to his country yet more solemn, to maintain, and to defend; that every violence offered to the person, property or dwelling of any such editor, for the purpose of destroying or overawing his press, is an outrage not only on his rights, and those of his subscribers but on the vital principles of representative government; and that all those who either publicly approve, or in any manner openly countenance such violations of private right, lend the authority of their opinions to the corruption of the best sentiments of mankind, and to the subversion of the soundest maxims of our happy constitution.

Resolved, That for any authority, civil or military, to negotiate or parley with a lawless mob, unless it be for their surrender to the laws, is at once, to acknowledge its incompetency to subdue or disperse them by force; that to treat with such mob, for the imprisonment of men who had committed no offence, was an act, if designed to confound those citizens with public criminals, of insolence, injustice and tyranny; if intended to lull them into fatal security, and to disarm them of the means of defence, then, of atrocity surpassing in guilt that of the sanguinary mob themselves; but if meant only to secure the persons of those citizens from further injury, then most ill-judged and unnecessary, because the defence of their house, would have secured the safety of their property as well as their lives, or if

that natural and legal assylum was deemed incapale of defence, Fort M-Henry would have constituted at once a safer and more honorable retreat for innocence.

Resolved, That the delay of the civil authority of Baltimore to apprehend for trial the ringleaders of three successive mobs, and by extinguishing the hope of continued impunity, to arrest their wicked career, is an omission of duty irreconcilable to any principles of humanity justice or policy; for if permitted, for want of sufficient force, to put down further resistance of the laws, an immediate application should have been made to the governor of the state of Maryland to supply the deficiency.

Resolved, finally, That we will ever cherish, with gratitude, the memory of General James Lingam, who perished in defence of the liberty of the press, a death worthy of the soldier who often hazarded his life in defence of the liberty of his country; and that, for the suppression of similar outrages, should any such be attempted within their own reach, we pledge ourselves, our lives, and sacred honor to each other, and to society, that we will immediately and cheerfully obey the call of the civil power; or should that be slow to prevent or redress such wrong, which, we are not, willing to suppose, we as faithfully pledge ourselves to rally round the insulted laws, and to support and defend with our lives the essential principles of our beloved republic.

BURR POWELL, Chairman.
R. H. HENDERSON, Sec'ry.

At a numerous meeting of the friends of peace, inhabitants of the Upper District of Kent County, convened at New Market, on Saturday the 22d. Inst. in pursuance of public notice, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present alarming situation of the country, and particularly of the late outrageous proceedings of the mob in Baltimore.

Major Edward Wright, was chosen Chairman—and
Mr. Gideon Pearce, Sec'ry.

Col. William Spencer, Col. Jervis Spencer, Captain Ephriam Vansant, Dr. Wm. Briscoe, Edward Eubanks, and John Staops, Esq'rs. were appointed a committee to draw up resolutions suitable to the occasion—who after retiring for a short time, reported the following, which were read, and passed unanimously.

Whereas, on the 22d. of June last, a lawless banditti of the City of Baltimore, organized for the purpose, in the face of the constitution of this state, which declares, "that the freedom of the press shall be inviolably preserved," entered and demolished the office of the "Federal Republican" a paper edited by native Americans, and pre-eminently distinguished for sound republican principles, unshaken firmness, and truly American spirit:

And whereas, on the neglect of the civil authority to take any effectual steps towards punishing the rioters, and protecting the lives and property of the citizens, the editors of the said paper were compelled to defend themselves, and for that purpose to arm, and call in

aid their friends, which by the laws and constitution of this state they have a right to do :

And whereas, on the re-establishment of the said office, on the 26th of July, it was again violently attacked by the banditti, and one of the editors, with those who had generously associated with him to defend it, were seized, stript of their arms, and committed to jail, with assurances from the mayor of the city, and the commanding officer of the militia, that a guard would be provided for their protection.

And whereas, these officers, in open violation of their promise, repeatedly made, dismissed the troops marching to guard the persons in confinement—on which the mob forcibly broke the jail, knocked down and inhumanly beat the prisoners, one of whom they put to the torture, with circumstances of savage ferocity, that put in the shade the refinements of Indian cruelty, whereby an indelible stain has been stamped on the American character :

And whereas, the bodies of Gens. Lee and Lingan, two distinguished heroes of the revolution, together with those of their companions, after being mangled by the brigands in a manner too shocking to relate, were piled in a heap, trampled on, and made the sport of savage boys, and still more savage men :

And whereas, a principal share in those scenes was borne by foreign renegadoes practised, as is believed, in the barbarities of the revolutions and rebellions of Europe, from which they have narrowly escaped, by flying to this country, the punishment they most richly deserved for their many murderous and treasonable deeds, committed in a trade they hope to pursue here with more success.

And whereas, unless the civil authority speedily interfere, it is to be apprehended that these brigands, after pillaging Baltimore and murdering the respectable inhabitants, will disperse themselves through the various counties of this state, spreading dismay, carnage, and desolation, in imitation of the brigands of Paris, whom they evidently propose as their model, and whom they have copied with such amazing success, as to excite a well grounded belief, that in the very commencement of their career, they will outstripe the sanguinary acts of the Jacobins of France, when in the maturity of crime, and, “ in the full tide of successfull experiment :”

Resolved, That we view with abhorrence and detestation the conduct of the mob in Baltimore, in demolishing the office of the Editors of the Federal Republican, whose only crime was a devotion to their country, and a resolution to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the defence of its liberties, and that we hail with gratitude, with warm and loud applause, the heroic exertions of Mr. Hanson and his associates, in favor of the liberty of the press. While such men live, we do not despair of the republic.

Resolved, That we contemplate with mingled emotions of sorrow and consternation, the extraordinary apathy, not to say delight, with which the constituted authorities of our country have witnessed the dominion of a mob substituted in the place of the law.—We are at a loss to know to what honorable motive to attribute the conduct of general Stricker and the Mayor of Baltimore, in refusing to suffer the militia to guard the jail, after the most solemn assurances of protection given to the prisoners. Nor can we understand by what authority the habeas corpus has been suspended, and citizens of Maryland refused bail, although charged with no crime, unless to defend our lives and property be a crime.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to Doctors Hall, Owen, Birkhead and Smith, for their humane endeavours to preserve the lives of Mr. Hanson and his friends from the fangs of the mob.

Resolved, That we are struck with astonishment and admiration, at the unprecedented courage and presence of mind displayed by Mr. Hanson and his associates, during their glorious contest for the liberty of the press. We congratulate our country on the state of recovery of those who have escaped from the massacre, and on the prospect of soon seeing Mr. Hanson in the National Legislature, a theatre worthy of his talents and patriotism.

Resolved, That the privilege now enjoyed by the city of Baltimore to rob and murder, organize brigands, and establish tar and feather societies, being suited only to the peculiar genius of that place, ought not to be extended to the counties of this state, and we do hereby pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour, to assist each other by all legal means, against the usurpations of these infamous associations.

Resolved, That every honest citizen has cause to tremble for the safety of the commonwealth, when audacity has reared its crest to such a height as to deter from the discharge of their duties, and drive from their chambers, a Grand Jury of the most opulent city in this state, employed in the prosecution of offences, which they were sworn to present, and were proceeding to investigate. "Good men look grave, and villains dance and leap."

Resolved, That we sincerely condole with our fellow citizens on the death of General James M. Ligan, an illustrious martyr in the cause of the liberty of the press, who was murdered by the cowardly and blood-stained mob of Baltimore, while nobly contending, in his old age, for that freedom, in the defence of which in his youth, he drew his sword and spilt his blood. His virtues and his services will live in the recollection of a grateful posterity; while the story of his wrongs, which cry to Heaven for vengeance,

will consign to eternal execration, the perfidious men who betrayed and delivered him up to be slaughtered.

Resolved, That Mr. Wagner is entitled to the thanks of this meeting for the very distinguished firmness, zeal and ability with which he has vindicated the rights of the press.

Resolved, That we view with the liveliest concern, the policy for many years pursued by the President and Congress of the United States, of giving to the people only extracts of the correspondence with the French government in some instances, and wholly suppressing it in others. We hope and trust that the federal representatives will persevere in their endeavours to procure the publication of the proceedings of congress during the secret sessions of 1805-6, 1810-11, that we may be apprized of the extent of our danger, and the nature of the precipice on which we stand. At this awful crisis when the two hemispheres shake to their centre, we are at a loss to conceive for what purpose, communications of the most vital importance to the country, have been withheld from our view and our relations with the emperor of the French for six years involved in impenetrable secrecy. When the people are deemed by their public servants unworthy of being entrusted with the knowledge of facts deeply interesting them, we are constrained to draw the most awful presages of our fate.

Resolved, That while we venerate and love the constitution of the United States, and feel a pride, as republicans, in obeying the laws, we disapprove of the policy of the present war—a war interminable in duration and incalculable in expense of blood and money, and which if prosecuted in our unprepared state will probably place us at the mercy and throw us into the arms of France, the great political vortex which has swallowed up all the republics of Europe.

Resolved, That whenever called on by the Executive of the state, we will march with alacrity to repel foreign invasion, suppress insurrections, quell mobs, or execute the laws of our country.

Resolved, That the sentiment publicly avowed and advocated by the party in power, that the people are incapable of judging of the conduct of the administration, and ought implicitly to acquiesce in their measures, however calamitous, is a revival of that monstrous doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, which is declared by the constitution of this state to be “slavish and destructive of the good and happiness of the world,” and is intended to hide from our eyes the blind and infatuated policy of our rulers.

Resolved, That we will at all times exercise with firmness the right secured to us by the constitution, of freely delivering our opinions of men and measures, unawed by the scowls of office or

the denunciations of brigands, and that we will stand by and support each other against all unlawful attempts to deprive us of the liberty of speech, which is our birth-right, and one of the natural and unalienable rights of the people.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Federal Republican, and the People's Monitor.

EDWARD WRIGHT, Chairman.

GIDEON PEARCE, Secretary.

The originals of the following letters, &c. alluded to in the preceding report, remain in the Mayor's Office.

MOUNT PHILIP—Sunday.

I am somewhat surprised not to have heard from you my dear friend. The late infamous enormities in Baltimore, and the scandalous submission to the prevalence of an atrocious, damnable mob, have filled me with equal indignation and astonishment. We have heard here no explanation of the circumstances, but what poor Hewes has at length ventured to state. What I ask is to be done? Unless the people are immediately roused, and the Federalists are immediately rallied, all opposition to the ruling policy will be unnerved, and the influence of these satanic outrages in Baltimore will spread through the State. As yet, I think and trust that our friends here feel and would act as they ought to do. What I feel myself you may see in yesterday's Herald, under the signature of Leonidas. If it is deemed a suitable appeal, I wish those editors whom you know, to republish it, or to publish something themselves to manifest proper feelings of indignant decision and sympathy. It is a most awful and fearful consideration, if the press can be thus prostrated and silenced, we are further gone in the road to perdition than I thought possible. I have for some time withdrawn from active politics, and disused to write or harangue. But any thing in that way of exertion that I can do, shall be done; in short, any thing, but being a candidate, or what is the same thing, deserting my family.

Had you not better shew yourself in this neighborhood as soon as you can? I think it, on your account, a highly advantageous moment to confirm and strengthen the favorable impression already made; and for the sake of the common good, it may be advisable to confer with your friends in this quarter, who are resolute and enthusiastic. Let me, at all events, hear from you without delay.

I am zealously and truly yours,

J. H. THOMAS,

A. C. HANSON, Esqr. ROCKVILLE, MONTGOMERY.

[Post mark—"Fredericktown, 28th June"]

Wednesday Evening

I am accidentally in town. I have not written to you, because I hoped in a few days that I should talk with you. But your letter has infused a thrill of ecstasy into the recesses of my heart. I had received one from Harper—it was not such a one as I hoped for—although he is every thing that I could wish. But his letter was rather a damper—it stated that you had given up Baltimore for the present, and were to recommence in Georgetown. God bless you my dear noble fellow.

Your's most truly,

J. H. THOMAS.

A. C. HANSON, Esqr. ROCKVILLE, MONTGOMERY.

[Post mark—"Fredericktown, 15th July"]

MOUNT PHILIP, 20th July.

MY DEAR FRIEND—The reason why I have not written to you by every mail, will appear by the distressing circumstances of our situation, as I shall state it

to you. I do not believe you need give yourself any uneasiness about the disclosure of the plan—what Heath heard I apprehend was rather conjectural than any thing else—certain it is, no communication has proceeded from me to that lady, or any one else, by which the matter could be known. But divers rumors have prevailed here on the subject. It has been said that the re-establishment of the press was relinquished altogether, then it is said you are to re-commence in Georgetown only, and have issued a prospectus, to that effect. The other day I heard from Shaw, that somebody from Baltimore had said, that the paper would be renewed there. But I believe the general idea was, and so was the tenor of Harper's letter to me, that Baltimore would be altogether abandoned. Yesterday, however, it was stated as coming, I believe, in a letter from Dr. Alexander to my father, that the foreman of the office had said, that the paper would re-appear before the first of August.

It is probable the lady alluded to having heard some of these reports, connected with Col. Lynn's declarations, who talked freely and boldly to every one he met with, she has imagined the rest. But at present I hear nothing said as to your particular views, the public curiosity being for the time absorbed in the fate of our little squadron, and the public interest here being at this moment much engaged in the in-gathering of harvest. The moment I received your letter last week, I wrote a note to Col. Lynn, enclosed to his brother at Cumberland, whom I desired to forward it by express. Whether considered as pledged to go with you or not, I should consider it a duty to offer, and if I know my own heart, it would afford it the liveliest gratification. I am sure you know me too well to imagine that I am feigning excuses; but I will state the circumstances by which I am precluded; and I think I might leave it to Linn, Anderson, Linn, Heath, and yourself, as the most honorable court martial that any man could wish for, to decide, not simply whether I am excusable for not going, but whether I should not be inexcusable for attempting to go at this moment.

The mere parade of going down, unless to remain with you for real service, would be idle; and might be embarrassing—and it is likely, if I could set off, I should soon be recalled by an alarm the most serious and hazardous. You will recollect to have heard, that last summer an accident had nearly deprived me of my wife.

There will be some difficulty in fixing the day for the Liberty meeting, so as to suit us. I shall be gone to Virginia in a few days, and the week after next will be court. You will be at Baltimore, of course, all next week. Captain Campbell, I understand, as he told me he would the other day, was to go to Liberty, I believe on Saturday last, to make arrangements. I have not heard from him, but he is ardent, and we entirely accord in the expediency of the thing. From a particular quarter, which you will immediately guess, I apprehend lukewarmness and indifference. However, whenever the day is appointed, I shall act independently, if necessary, and you will be informed of the time, so that under any circumstances we must make a violent effort to be there. I want to shew you a prompt, sensible letter I received from Mr. Stoddert, as to the feasibility and necessity of electing John Marshall as the next president. Another letter from our friend Alexander, hopes that you will avoid unnecessary personal abuse in the newspaper, and desires me to second this advice to you—upon which, sir, all I have to say is, that as to what is so much desecrated as abuse, you must be the best and only judge yourself as to what is necessary and unnecessary.

Remember me affectionately to your wife and children. Mary desires her love to them. Most truly and affectionately yours,

J. H. THOMAS.

P. S.—Write me a particular detail of all your operations. Tell our excellent friends Linn and Anderson, that upon reflection it was deemed best to wait the answer from Baltimore, before publishing our letter; and the answer from Harper, with other considerations which I will state to them, determined me not to offer it for publication. I am not certain that Thompson would dare print it, notwithstanding what he was induced to insert a few weeks ago.

I learn from others, (having no communication with him myself,) and indeed I learn from his paper, that he has given up to his own apprehensions or the influence of certain moderates. Until the Federal Republican revives, we have no press in Maryland. God grant it a speedy, permanent and honorable resurrection.

Alexander Conte Hanson, esq. Rockville, Montgomery.

CUMBERLAND, July 19, 1812.

DEAR SIR—Your note of the 15th inst. under cover to my brother, was delivered by him to me, on my arrival here last evening. I am sorry, sincerely so, that I was not apprised of Mr. Hanson's plan of taking possession of a house in Baltimore, in order to re-establish the Federal Republican again, at so short a day as on Monday week, that is, to-morrow week. I am now from home since Thursday morning, and cannot possibly reach there again until to-morrow night, on account of business that is too urgent to neglect. I also feel much indisposed on account of a cold and head-ache; but rest assured I will hurry home with all possible speed, and it is possible I will join those gallant spirits, going on the noble enterprize; perhaps the most so since the revolutionary war. Time hardly ever was so precious with me. I have at this time several contracts respecting cattle on hand, that must be complied with: some of them one hundred miles beyond me; and I yesterday received 2000 dollars here for the purpose of making the necessary payment next week, or I shall perhaps lose my credit and the cattle in the bargain.

But it may be possible for me to get some one to do the business for me. The most difficult part is the cattle I have not seen and valued; and who to get that is a competent judge, I cannot as yet think of. My friend, you now see some of the difficulties under which I labor;—more, and of a very serious nature, I could detail, but it is unnecessary. I repeat, that if it is possible, I will with heart and soul join the band; nothing in this world, at present, would afford me more real pleasure than to assist in the noble undertaking. Secrecy and great caution will be necessary until the party are actually in possession of the house. In the first place, there ought (according to the size of the house) to be a full quantity of gallant men to defend it at every door, window, &c. muskets with the bayonets, and a plenty of good pistols, with a large store of ammunition. Let there be a plenty of buck shot provided for close work, and when they reach closer still, (which will never be, I believe, but it is always best to be well prepared) I would advise that a store of tomahawks or hatchets, with dirks for every man, be provided. If we are thus prepared, and they can neither fire the house nor starve us out, the garrison will never be under the necessity of a surrender. I have thus thrown my ideas together in great haste; should they do no good, they will not injure. Too much caution cannot be made use of. I repeat again, if it is possible, I will be with you in time; but should it not be in my power, I hope I shall stand excused. I hope there will be no want of young soldiers, and those commanded by such men as Langan and Anderson cannot fail of success. In haste, I am your's sincerely.

JOHN LYNN.

P. S.—Lathing hatchets would be a good substitute for tomahawks, if they cannot be had.

John Hanson Thomas, esq. Frederick-town.

Friday Evening.

DEAR HANSON—The inclosed letter from Col. Lynn was brought to me last evening.—Notwithstanding what I wrote to you by the last mail I had still entertained a faint hope, which I would not express, that I might be able to join you, or meet the party on the road to Baltimore.

* * * * *

But I cannot express the solicitude I feel in your enterprise, and the regret, the mortification, in not being able to assist in it. I have equal confidence in your conduct and courage. You will act advisedly and take care, should it become necessary not to use force, that is deadly force, until the attempt of the assailants will justify you in the eye of the law: for I wish your triumph in

case of a resort to extremities to be certain and complete so that you shall be sustained, in any event, by the laws of the land, as well as the principles of honour. Yours very affectionately,

J. H. THOMAS.

Post-mark—"Fredericktown, M'd. 24th July."

Fredericktown, July 24, 1812.

SIR—It was my intention to have done myself the pleasure of calling on you a few days since at the court house, but was deprived by indisposition. I *know* the manner in which you have been treated. If I can be of any service to you at any time you may command me. I will lose my life for you.

OTHO H. W. LUCKETT.

A. C. Hanson, Esq.

Montgomery court house, M'd. (no date)

Georgetown, Thursday morning.

DEAR SIR—The day before yesterday I sent you a rough sketch of part of the observations for the first paper: having no letter from Mr. Allison and none of the apparatus having arrived, I wrote to him to send on the people and come himself. I expect him to day. I had made an arrangement with Rind to print the paper, if we should be reduced to the necessity of resorting to any other office than our own. But last evening he communicated his retraction of the accommodation; assigning as a reason, that the post master, in whose buildings the office is kept, was fearful it might injure him at the palace. I suppose the true reason to be that as Rind is a very timid man and holds the situation of a clerk in the bank of Columbia, he is afraid of meeting the displeasure of John Mason. Still he offers every facility by using his types & hands and loaning apress, to be taken down and elsewhere. From all I can learn a wonderful apathy prevails among the federalists respecting the Federal Republican, and some have contracted an aversion to its publication, lest they may be involved in inconvenience or broil. This is a state of things radically different from what was impressed on me ever before. I am, however, flattered that this repugnance is no more than a species of delicacy which will yield as soon as the paper is set a going. We shall soon reduce this to the test of experience. Under present circumstances it is not probably that we shall be able to publish on Monday; and until I see Allison it is impossible for me to approximate the time. It is reduced to a certainty, that without our own office we cannot get afloat. This is so important to your arrangement, that I have sent the letter by express, to apprise you of it before you left town for Ellicott's, and also to request your assistance in obtaining from Mr. Gaither a lease of the house at the corner next to Crawford's, and which was the property of the late colonel Gaither by whom it was purchased from Gov. Lee. Should we not be able to get it, it is doubtful whether we would suit ourselves in the town. Some places hitherto expected to be obtained, would not answer our purpose and others we could not procure.

So much idle conversation has been had respecting the power and the inclination of the navy yard to imitate the example of Baltimore, and the injury the establishment of the paper will occasion to the interests of the town, that we could not have a choice of houses which are to be let. Harry Gaither's uncle has the right to lease the house I allude to, and Harry himself can do in it as he likes best. It is proposed to lease from him the whole except the lower story, which is occupied as a grocery store. We ought to pay him \$150 per annum which is all that it is worth, but rather than be disappointed we might go as high as 200 dollars. It never has had a tenant, except at in a gambling season, it is occupied for a few weeks by blacklegs and whores. To enable us to get the paper as soon as possible, I could wish to have Mr. Gaither's written permission to enter it sometime to morrow. An united Irishman is the grocer who lives below; but though the upper part has no connexion by passages with his rooms, I am appre-

hensive that he and the Rigg's will intrigue to keep us out. You will therefore be prompt in your application and obtain for me an indisputable authority to warrant my entry into it. I have received a letter that says the host of the mob are chop fallen, and that the mayor himself has been presented by the grand jury. Should this prove true, it evinces a determination in them which must have been procured by fear, that the interests of the city were ruined or only to be retrieved by a resolute and indiscriminate prosecution of all offenders.—Very respectfully,
J. WAGNER.

Georgetown, July 23, 1812.

DEAR SIR—With the assistance of Col. Marbury, I have surmounted all the difficulties mentioned in my letter by express. You may therefore count on receiving the paper at my house in Baltimore on Monday morning and go on with your arrangements accordingly. Marbury says, that the croaking is confined to democrats, and a few federalists, who by means of jobs and dependance upon the executive, are labouring in the promotion of its views. In him we shall have a valuable and steady supporter in all our undertakings. I am sorry he had not been in town before. I hear nothing from Allison in answer to my letter, from which I conclude that he is on his way by water with the rest. Yours very truly,

JACOB WAGNER,

A. C. Hanson, Esq.

By these presents I assign and let over to A. C. Hanson, Esq. in consideration of one dollar, to me in hand paid, all my right title and interest, of, in and to the dwelling house in S. Charles-st. which I leased from Mrs. White, in Baltimore, with all the rights, privileges and appurtenances. Witness my hand and seal, this twenty-third day of July, 1812.

JACOB WAGNER.

Witness Benj. B. Mackall.

Georgetown, July 25, 1812.

Dear Sir—The bearer carries you the paper which he will deliver you by day break. God send you success and glory in case of an attack. Yours very sincerely,

JACOB WAGNER,

A. C. Hanson, Esq. No. 45, Charles-Street, Baltimore.

*Alexandria, July 20—12**

Dear Sir—The short distance between the place of your asylum and this town invites me, my mind always anxious to meet you especially since the late disgraceful, and to you destructive scene in Baltimore) to mount my horse for Montgomery, but circumstances interfere which frustrates my wishes.

Besides as soon as I hear from Richmond, expected every day, I must go to Baltimore where I ought to have been on the 16th, but where I cannot go until I am prepared.

You mean to return and re-establish your press; this decision, I presume comports with your interest and is called for by due respect to 'sores' political by acrimonious 'Tom, when his pen was

* This letter has no signature but it is supposed to have been written by General Lee.

directed by truth, and not by ambition. They must not be allowed to take root in our land, or soon will our tall trees be abrupted from their foundation.

It is possible, I fear probable, that your return to Baltimore will be followed by a repetition of the past—This cannot but occur to your own mind and must produce a determination to resist to the last.

Vain is such determination unless accompanied by preparation to defend yourself.

Select a house for your business capable of defence—place your family under the same roof, and collect a few resolute friends, some of whom shall always be in the house throughout the day and all throughout the night.

Put in the most retired room in the upper story, cartridge made of the best powder, with ball and swan shot, these with a number of spare flints chosen with care, reserve for the hour of trial, if that hour should come. Prepare also cartridges with small shot to apply wherever it can be done without encouraging the mob by their experience of their innocence—collect a ton or two of large stones in your cellar, place some of them close to the windows over the outer doors of the house, to be rolled down on the assailants when forced forward through the pressure of those behind.—Water and biscuit be sure to have in abundance.

Appropriate to every story a portion of your friends, assigning to each story a leader—let them not be crowded, or you not only unnecessarily risk their lives but you injure your ability to defend; in a safe upper room hold all the supernumeraries in leisure, arranging to them the supply of cartridges, flints and muskets, as accident may render necessary.

Appoint a chief to direct the whole, and inculcate not only profound silence throughout the house, but let every order be given in a low voice, this compels your own men to be silent and attentive and withholds from the assailant knowledge useful to him.

The defenders of the house must be posted on each side of every window, all of which except in the lower story must be hoisted, to prevent wounds from the shivering of the glass by the balls, those below ought also to be opened if the ground admits it.

In case of forcing the outer doors and entering the lower story, be ready with chairs, tables and bedsteads to stop the staircase, which defend.

Should the iniquity of the mob render it proper for you to adopt my advice remember that you ought not to provoke their action, that you ought to require in time the aid of the civil authority, and that you having began defence, must never even think of concession.—Die or conquer.

A. C. Hanson, Esq. Rockville, Montgomery county, M'd.

My Dear Sir—I have nothing but bad news to give you from this quarter as to your plan. John H. Thomas I have seen, and he expresses much regret at having to go to Virginia to-morrow or next day with his wife, who he says is very sick. He read to me a letter from col. Lynn, from which I am very much inclined to think Lynn will not be with you, as he has pressing engagements at home. Robert M. Pherson I am told is sick and Sprigg has engaged no other. This plan is here public, and I believe George Baer and others have named the very day for its execution. When the scheme was first mentioned to me, I stated my objection to it. I believe to you as well as to others. The very same reasons which I urged against it to Crabb and Kilgour on Sunday, my brother has urged to me here, enforced by others which on the whole I have thought irresistible. I presume none have entered into this plan, supposing for a moment that there could be any danger after the battle was over; but upon conversing with my brother, he seems clearly of opinion, that to fire on the assailants before other means of putting them out of the house have been used, would be unlawful and subject us to the punishment of manslaughter. Thus in protecting the laws we should be violating them. To wait until the mob have entered, would not do, because then numbers would overpower us; nor do I consider this a part of the plan as developed to me; beside with a democratic judge to direct a democratic jury, as to the law, he considers *our conviction of murder* as far more than probably.

I consider myself to have been engaged to incur risk in the battle only, and nothing beyond this. I consider you to be acting with the same purposes, and therefore hope you will take the advice of Harper, and of those men in whom you most confide. This I ask for your own sake, and of those friends who have not taken the same view of the subject as I have. *My opinion is formed upon authorities that I have looked into with my brother*, and if such were not my opinion, I would not act contrary to his. Under these circumstances I have concluded not to go on to Baltimore, as I could not act in such a plan.—I hope you yourself will take a fuller view of the subject. If the mob should rise to pull down the press in Georgetown, the mayor or the magistrates may and will be induced to do their duty. We shall then act under the authority of the law, and the feelings of the people will go along with us; but this will seem too much like a plan to provoke an attack, that we may take into our own hands the sword of justice and you know that this the law will not allow. With respect, &c. &c. Your obedient servant,

A. TANEY.

Fredericktown, July 24.

The following are the legal opinions annexed, by Mr. Hanson to his address to the inhabitants of his congressional district.

Our opinion is requested upon the following points:

1. Whether Mr. Hanson and his friends, under the circumstances in which they found themselves in Baltimore on the 27th of July last, were justifiable in law in repelling by force the attack made upon them, and killing the assailants upon the ground of self-defence.

2. Whether the presentment against Mr. Hanson for man-slaughter, and the indictment which will be found on it, can disqualify him in the law for a seat in congress.

On the first point we hold it to be clear law:

1. That Mr. Hanson had a complete legal right to exercise in Baltimore the business of publishing a newspaper, or to distribute it there when published elsewhere; being liable to indictment if he published any thing contrary to law.

2. That every man, in the prosecution of his lawful business, has a right to defend his house and person by force if necessary, against unlawful violence, and to provide himself before hand with the means of defence, if he should have good reason to apprehend such violence.

3. That consequently, as Mr. Hanson had good reason, from what had happened to his office to apprehend such violence, he was justifiable in law in furnishing himself with the means of repelling this violence, should it be attempted.

4. That the attack on Mr. Hanson's house having been made with stones and other dangerous weapons, and with the avowed purpose of breaking and entering it, for an unlawful object; and the house having been actually broken and in part entered before any resistance was made, or any provocation given from within, he and those with him had a legal right to kill the assailants in self-defence; that being the sole remaining mean of protecting their own persons from violence, and indeed of saving their own lives.

The second point is too clear to admit of the least doubt. The constitution is explicit. It prescribes the qualifications for a seat in congress, and consequently the disqualifications. To those found in the constitution none can be added; and to be under presentment or indictment for any crime whatever, is not one of the disqualifications to be found in the constitution. Even conviction for an infamous crime would not be a disqualification; though, if the crime were committed, and perhaps if the conviction took place, after the election, it would be a good ground of expulsion.

But an indictment is only an accusation, the truth or falsehood of which is to be established at the trial. To admit a mere accusation which may on trial appear to be false, as a disqualification for a citizen to be elected as a member of congress, would be equally contrary to every principle of justice, law and common

sense. It would be also of most dangerous tendency. Very slight testimony will often induce a grand jury, and properly too, to put a man on his trial, by finding a bill against him. No defence can be made before them. The party accused cannot appear or produce his witnesses. Consequently the grand jury, for the most part, can hear but one side. Even where they send for witnesses to explain the matter more fully, it will often remain doubtful; and if the facts or the law appear doubtful to them, they have a right, and perhaps it is their duty, to find a bill; to the end that a more complete investigation of both may take place, in the trial before the court and petty jury.

It is easy, therefore, to perceive, how readily a candidate might be excluded by profligate competitor, if an indictment were a disqualification. A single false witness, fabricating a plausible tale, might induce a grand jury very honestly to find a bill; and this bill would disqualify the candidate. Nothing of this sort has taken place, or can be suspected in the present case; but a principle so liable to abuse ought not to be admitted.

It is, however, sufficient to state, which we do with confidence, that the constitution and the laws preclude every idea of such a disqualification.

ROBERT G. HARPER.

PHILIP B. KEY.

WALTER DORSEY.

THOMAS BUCHANAN.

Baltimore, Sept. 3, 1812.

Baltimore, 31st August, 1812.

Dear Sir—You inform me, that “an assertion has been made, that the affair in Charles street, would render you ineligible to congress, that this assertion, should it gain ground, may injure your election,” and request from me my legal opinion on the subject.

While the grand jury were inquiring into the transactions, which happened in Charles street, and the consequent events. I avoided unnecessarily expressing my opinion, relative thereto, considering it improper that sentiments, on one side or the other, should be published, which might influence the conduct of the grand jury in cases under their investigation.

But on the present occasion, as a misapprehension of the law might perhaps, prevent your election, to the prejudice of the constitutional elective rights of yourself and the citizens of your districts, I feel no objection to give you my opinion on the subject.

The proprietors of the Federal Republican had a clear constitutional right to print and publish, their newspapers, without obtaining the permission of any person for that purpose; of this no person can possibly doubt. They had no right, it is certain, to

force any person to take, or to read their paper, but this they never have attempted. They had a right to procure a house in which they, or any of them should dwell, as long as was thought proper, for the purpose of distributing their papers therefrom; this no man of common sense and common candour can deny.

If in their newspapers they published any thing, illegal and criminal, the editors were answerable in a legal mode of proceeding against them, but in no other manner.

No principle of law is, or can be made, more clear and certain, than that, if you apprehended your house would be illegally attacked, or that, while residing therein, your person would be in danger of illegal violence, you had a right, nay, it was your duty to collect your friends, in defence of your house, and of your person; and they had an undoubted right to assemble in your house for the defence of it and of you; nay, in so doing, they acted meritoriously. And that you and they acted justifiable in opposing those who ritously made the attack upon your house, even though it was attended with the death of some of them, will never be denied but by those whose passions and prejudices have got the better of their good sense and legal knowledge. Nor can any but such ever think that your conduct in Charles street, where you were supporting your and their essential rights, can render you less worthy to represent them in congress.

But there is a presentment against you for manslaughter. And what then? Can this be an objection? Neither the constitution, the laws, reason, nor common sense, prevents a person from being chosen member of congress on account of his being *presented for any crime*. Otherwise the political enemies of a candidate would have nothing more to do, than to obtain a presentment against him, however unjust it might be, and thereby deprive him of his constitutional right to be elected; and the citizens of his district of their constitutional right to be represented by him. I am dear sir, sincerely yours,

LUTHER MARTIN.

FUNERAL ORATION.

The following is a sketch of Mr. Custis's Address, delivered on the 1st September, revised and corrected by himself, from notes taken on the ground. Who can read it and not drop a generous tear for the wrongs and sufferings of LINGAN, and feel indignation at the systematic persecution of his gallant survivors and partners in sufferings, cruelty and oppression?—[FED. REPUB.]

SHALL the stranger, my friends, attempt to speak your hero's praise? I never fed at his board, I never drank of his cup, nor did the cheering smile of welcome ever meet me at his hospitable threshold. Then sure no motives of partiality can influence the sentiments which I am about to utter in behalf of one whom I never knew. Yet, as the brave man who fought the battles of my country's liberty is to be the subject of my praise, as the illustrious citizen who died in defence of one of the dearest rights which freemen can boast, is to be the hero of my tale: I can only say, my friends, that were my powers commensurate with my zeal, I would hope, on this day, to do honor to his memory.

By what standard of patriotism shall we try our Lingan? Shall we try him by the standard of modern patriots; mushrooms of yesterday, who have grown up from the soil, first fattened by the blood of heroes: or rather, shall we try him by the illustrious standard of seventy-six? Look to the mighty period which "tried men's souls," look in the embattled ranks of liberty's host, and there will you find your Lingan! Witness the dreadful combat at Long Island, where the famous Maryland regiment, after bearing the brunt of the day, were nearly annihilated and cut to pieces: Again behold him at the storming of Fort Washington, and then you may change the scene. You have yet only viewed your friend, the gallant soldier in the tented field. You must now behold him the wretched prisoner in the dungeons of the prison ship! There, while listening to the groans of expiring humanity; there, while beholding his brave brethren dying by inches in all the horrors of captivity and want, well might your Lingan say: Sweet, oh my country! should be thy liberties, when they are purchased at this monstrous price!

Yes, my friends, in that very prison ship was your Lingan a sufferer, which, even at this late time of day, excites the warmest sensibilities in the American bosom. You have seen our brethren perform a pious pilgrimage, to the spot where the victims were lain;* you

* The orator here alludes to the funeral ceremonies in New-York, when the Tammany Society, and citizens of the same political denomination, caused the bones of hundreds of Americans, who had perished on board the Jersey prison ship, to be collected from the beach and buried beneath a monument prepared

have seen them rake up the bones which six and thirty years had bleached, and interred them with all the pomp and solemnity of woe. Aye, and I trust my country will yet find a tear to hallow the memory of the brave old man, who died in defence of one of the dearest rights those immortal sufferings have procured!

When the war had ended, your Lingan retired to the shades of domestic life; happy in the conscientious reflection, that his services and sufferings had contributed to rear the Temple of National Freedom, to found the glorious empire of laws. There, in the relative duties of a Father, a Master, a Neighbour, and a Friend, was the gallant veteran most nobly distinguished. Say ye who best can tell, was he not the kind, indulgent Parent? the good Husband? the faithful Friend? the upright honorable man? "*If there be any one in this assembly who will deny this praise, now let him speak, for him have I offended;*" and if it were further necessary to enquire into the merits of this excellent man, know that they were stamped with a seal, which bore the name of WASHINGTON!—Yes, my friends, your LINGAN and your WILLIAMS were each appointed in the early formation of the government, to offices of honor and trust, by that immortal chief, whose unerring judgment was never deceived, if the SOLDIER was the object—Williams did I say? the gallant Williams of Guildford and the Eutaws? Peace be to his ashes! happy that he is gone! for sure it would have rent his manly heart to have witnessed the melancholy end of his brother soldier!

It has been said by some, my friends, and supposed by others, that the venerable Lingan was induced to engage in this enterprise, which terminated his life, by the arts and intrigues of designing men, contrary to the dictates of his better judgment.—In the face of his family, his country, and the world, *I deny the fact!* No, my friends, the whole heart of the veteran was in this thing:—and it was, because he had seen the laws of his country prostrated at the feet of tyrannic power, and the liberty of the press violated and usurped!—And when he saw a band of youth prepare to defend their rights, or perish in the breach, the soul of the veteran rejoiced—"I admire these gallant boys," he said, "their heroic ardour reminds me of my other days—I will join their gallant calling—age and experience will be useful to temper their valour, to moderate their zeal, to direct their energies. I will be the Nestor to the young Achilles."

When, after a brave defence, our brethren had lain down their arms, and submitted to the constituted authorities of their country, mercy and generosity should have been shewn to submission. They are the privileges of the brave, in every age and condition of society.

Who were these prisoners?—Were they the rakings of kennels; were their shoes yet new, since they landed on our shores? or were

or that purpose. On this occasion appropriate orations were delivered, and the bones were attended to the grave by an immense procession. Gen. Lingan was one of the few who survived these martyr'd patriots. His health was so much impaired by his sufferings on board this prison ship, that he was for many months subsequent helpless as an infant.

they sons of the sires, who had fought the battles, and laboured in the councils of their country's glory; yeomen of our land, who had grown up with the growth, and strengthened with the strength of liberty? Their cause was holy. They knew they had done no wrong—for people of America know that when the law of a community can no longer protect the citizen, the great law of nature commands him to protect himself! Yet, that the ends of justice might be subserved—that their accusers might obtain the full measures of justice denied to them; these gallant heroes consented to be carried, like malefactors, to the prison house! There they received the most solemn assurance, which honour and religion could give, of perfect safety and protection. Who will then believe, that in a few short hours, the asylum of justice; the asylum in which even the condemned criminal is safe; should be converted into the chamber of death?

Hide, hide my country! thy diminished head! Thou, an empire of laws, and yet this monstrous outrage within thy bosom! Thou, the seat of justice, and yet the asylum of justice profaned with innocent blood! The weeping genius of my country, seeks to draw a veil before the dreadful scene, but an higher Power commands, that no veil shall screen this work of darkness from the light of truth!

The murder of prisoners!! Why 'tis abhorrent to nature; my soul sickens at the thought. Sure such hideous sin was once foreign to the American character! Say ye grey-headed men, veterans of liberty, and fathers of my country, when was the time, during our arduous struggle, that the soldier of freedom stained his laurels with his prisoners' blood! While storming the redoubts at Yorktown, the cry of the soldiers was, "Remember New-London;" yet, no sooner had the foe submitted, than mercy, divine mercy, sat triumphant on my country's colors. Aye, my friends, Hamilton and Laurens commanded then!

The murder of prisoners!! Even sanguinary France now cowers to our superior genius in iniquity; she is no longer supreme in sin. If we contemplate the tremendous scenes of her revolution, they appear but as Christmas gambols to this hellish tragedy, for the state of society is entirely different. There the tiger had long been confined within the bars of oppression. For centuries had he gnawed his galling chain, and thirsted for the blood of his oppressors; but here, in the mild land of liberty, in our wise and good government, whose laws provide the punishment of crimes, great indeed must be that injury which requires an extra vengeance!

The murder of prisoners!! 'Tis true, Napoleon, the chosen monster of crime, first set this horrid example at Jaffa; but even under his authority, the poor victims met a speedy and merciful death. The battalion which was drawn up against them, soon put a period to their sufferings, by an immediate passport to eternity.

The murder of prisoners!! When, even the Indian savage a prisoner takes, if he promises him protection, the poor captive is safe. Nay, go further—look to the Arab Robber of the Desert.—

When he meets the wandering pilgrim in the sands, if he conducts him within his tent, the robber will die at its door in defence of his guest. Such are the examples of mercy, fidelity and honor, which adorn even the savage life, and yet, my countrymen, it has been left to the enlightened republic of America to view more horrid examples of cruelty, than ever distinguished the Inquisition or the Rack.

Let us attend the venerable LINGAN in the last moments of his life. When he found the inevitable fate which awaited him, that fortitude which had distinguished the gallant veteran in the direful fields of the revolution, while fighting for the liberties of his country, did not desert him in the closing hour of his life. And yet, sure he thought, that if Americans were his foes, the sight of his venerable figure, bent with age, must touch their hearts! Ah, LINGAN, thou hadst indeed survived thy country's better days. There was a time, when thy venerable presence would have arrested the falling dagger, had it been grasped by an American hand! What did I say? Sure there *was* a time, when a thousand sabres would have gleamed, to defend the grey head of an aged soldier, sinking at the feet of an assassin!! Alas! those days are gone! The glory of my country hath sunk into the grave of her chief!

Attend the closing scene. The old man falls beneath their blows—yet feebly raising his wounded head, on which threescore winters had shed their snows, he appeals to his murderers—"Spare me an old man, whose years are few to live!—spare the father, whose orphans will want!—spare the old soldier, whose faithful services, and whose hard sufferings have earned his country's liberties!—Spare!!"—Here, as if it was necessary to cap the climax of horror, to render the catastrophe of hell complete—know, Americans, that JAMES LINGAN, the soldier of your WASHINGTON, the patriot, the hero, and the friend; the man of charity who felt for others woes; the noble example to youth! the man of virtue, religion and honor; died, died under the appellation of a tory!

Are there men in this assembly who can feel!—Now let them feel!

Oh! MARYLAND! Would that the waters of thy Chesapeake could wash this foul stain from thy character!—Oh, MARYLAND! Would that the recording angel who carries thy black deed to Heaven's Chancery on high, could drop a tear upon it, and blot it out forever!—But no!—A voice cries from the tomb of the brave. It rises to the God of Nature and Humanity and demands a vengeance on the murderer!

And are there no young men in Montgomery, who will go and redeem the remains of their venerable friend, and give them the rites of sepulchre near his own home. Sure it would soothe the widow's sorrowing heart, sure it would soothe his orphans' woes! then go, perform the pious task, and the applause of all good men speed you on your way!—Mark well my words—'Tis not that I would sharpen your swords to vengeance—vengeance belongs to the laws; but I would open your hearts to gratitude—gratitude belongs to man!

Shade of the venerable Lingan! Farewell! Accept the feeble tribute of a stranger's praise; although thy sun hath sunk in the horizon,

still, its last parting gleam sheds a benign lustre on thy fame. The laurel that covers thy hoary head, old man! shall ever bloom with youthful verdure! Thy illustrious services in liberty's cause, shall rear for thee a Cenotaph in each freeman's bosom, while thy endearing virtues will cause the ready tear of affection to freshen the turf on thy humble grave!

Soldier of my country! Defender of her liberties—Farewell.

Permit me, my friends, to offer you a few remarks, touching the present state of our republic. People of America!—The liberty of the press is one of the noblest rights a freeman can boast. When the right of opinion, the liberty of speech, and the liberty of the press, are prostrated at the feet of lawless power, *the Citadel of Freedom must soon surrender!* Yes, my friends, and that power which destroys these attributes of liberty, *is the pioneer which precedes the march of despotism!*

I well remember the good old federal times, when the father of his country, blest with his virtues our rising empire. Then was the majesty of the laws supreme; then was the liberty of the press inviolate; and sure, if ever there was a time, when its licentiousness required a curb, it was when its slanders were aimed at the reputation of the *First of Men!* The modern Archimedes of malice and ambition had upreared his mighty engines of calumny to assail our chieftain's virtue!—But the great, the god-like WASHINGTON, had only to oppose the ægis of his integrity, and their shafts fell harmless to the ground!—Yes, people of America! and wretched indeed is that man's cause, which cannot be defended by his integrity!!

Why are federalists a persecuted race? Must they leave their Egypt, and under the conduct of another Moses, seek a new Canaan? Can they boast of no virtues, no services, to entitle them to the joys of liberty's land? Who reared the temple of national freedom? Who kindled the sacred flame on its altars? Whose virtues, whose services have contributed to nourish that flame? Go! untie the scroll of of fame!—Pursue the list of American worthies, and tell me if any federalists are there!—Go to the hard fought fields of the revolution—kneel on their sacred earth, which tells no lies, and ask her, if on the memorable days, when we fought for liberty, no federal blood moistened her bosom? Nay persecuted as we are, perhaps at this moment some gallant sailor climbs the shattered mast to nail the flag of my country to its stump—My life on it, *that fellow is a federalist!*—Perhaps some gallant soldier may yet scale the heights of Abraham, to wreath liberty's standard around Montgomery's tomb!—I tell you, the first foot, which presses that classic ground, *will be a Federalist's!*—Forever live the glorious name our WASHINGTON bore!—Forever let his example inspire his children!

The spirit of Federalism rises from the tomb of Mount Vernon—and when my country shall bend under the storms of adversity, the children of Washington will show “their generous nature.”

When the storms of adversity shall rock liberty's temple to its base, the Sampson of Federalism will grasp the pillars, and in his expiring struggles, will perish with liberty, in liberty's ruins.

Yes, Americans! the powers which made you great and free, independent and happy, still opens its arms to receive the prodigal returned. When my country shall have been deeply stricken by misfortune, may she grow wise by experience—determine to restore the age of WASHINGTON—to render the last of republics IMMORTAL!

Did I speak of the age of Washington! the golden age of my country? when peace, prosperity and protection blessed our land! Great is the contrast now.—Attend me, friends, to a federalist's house in 1812: I open you the door, and that too of a man who can look his country in the face, and say* I have been thy benefactor; near the cradle of my sleeping child stands the musket and the bayonet; near the pillow of my innocent wife the sharpened sabre!—and why? Because I will enjoy the right of opinion, the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press, these sacred privileges I inhaled with my first first breath, and will only loose them with my last. When my parent† was perishing at Yorktown, he bequeathed this valuable legacy to his child, and damned the man who would relinquish the rights obtained by a parent's sufferings! Oh, Washington! discerning man; well indeed didst thou foresee thy country's fallen destiny! As a parent didst thou warn thy children of the precipice to which they were approaching. Yes, as thy country's guardian angel didst thou stand on the brink and point to the abyss below.—Thy sun hath sunk in the west, but may its last parting gleam still serve to light us in our darksome course, till the sun of another Washington shall arise, and give to America a glorious day.

Weep not, my brethren, that our chief is gone. Dry up your tears; and thank the author of divine mercies for having so long preserved our benefactor for our happiness; and at last only to have taken him from us when the degeneracy of his country had begun to sorrow his declining years: Methinks I hear his mighty spirit sigh in the breeze; methinks I see his venerated form enshrined in glory! His opened arms receive the shade of LINGAN! Listen to his mighty words: "Well done thou good and faithful soldier, who twice hath bled in liberty's cause; enter into the joys reserved for the brave!"

My task is almost done—thanks to you friends, for your patient attention. The tear which fills the furrow in the veteran's cheek, the sympathy of age, youth and beauty, Oh, LINGAN! speak thy best eulogium.

This great, this immortal day, will proudly shine in freedom's annals—and while the prayers of the wise, the virtuous and the brave

*Arlington Sheep-shearing, founded in 1803, first taught our country to hail the sounds of industry with independence.

"America shall be great and free, and minister to her wants by the employment of her own resources."—"The American citizen will proudly appear when clothed in the produce of his native soil."—[*Speeches of Mr. Custis at the Arlington Sheep-shearings.*]

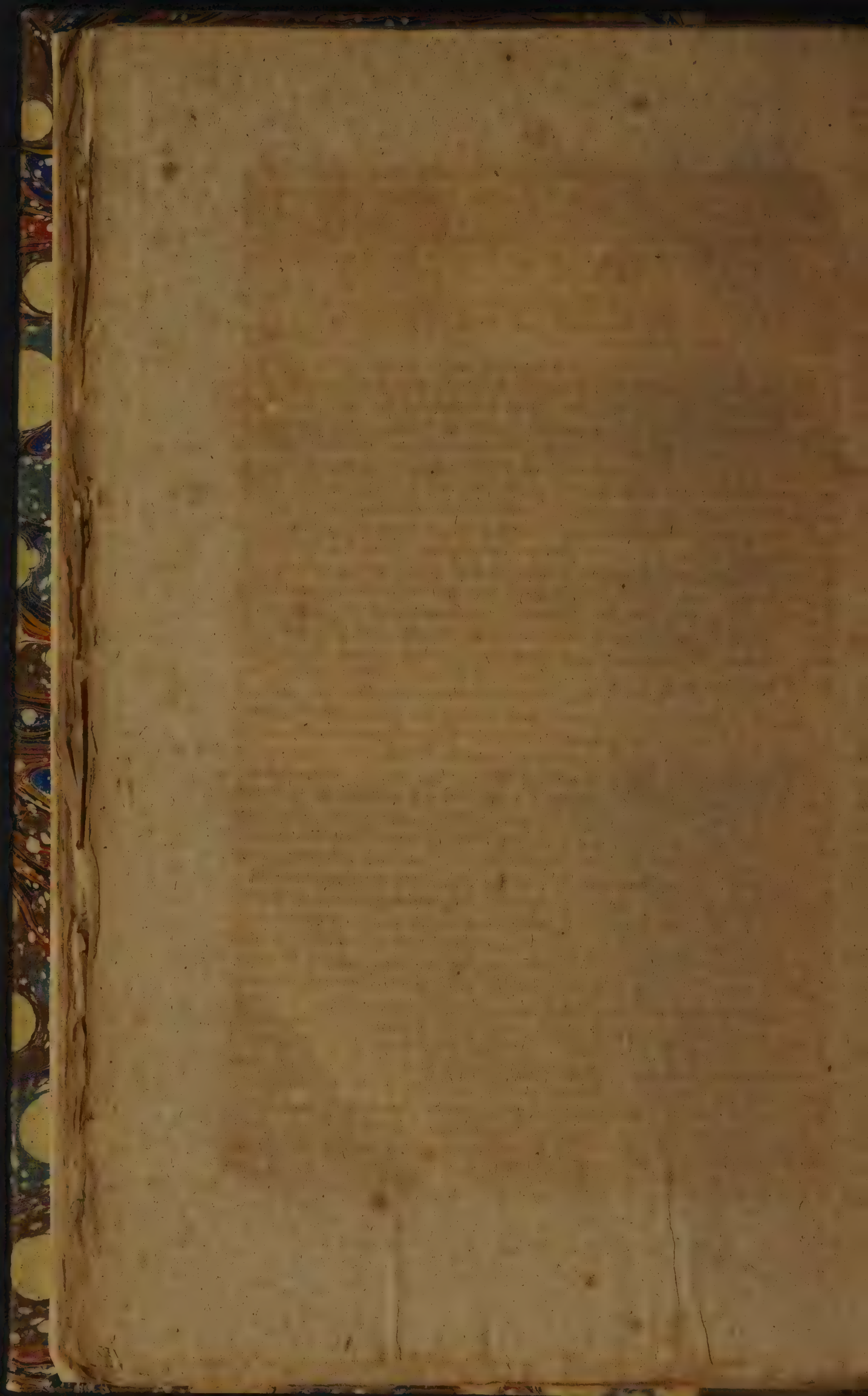
†Mr. Custis' father died near Yorktown in 1781, from an infectious disorder received in the British camp. Mr. Custis, then an infant, was adopted in the family of Mount Vernon.

ascend to the Throne of Grace to hallow our heroes memory, go tell your children that *their lives belong to the liberties of their country!*

My task is done—think me not an intruder here—I could not bear to see the remains of the veteran soldier sink dishonoured and neglected to the grave—I could not let the man who had earned the liberties which I enjoy, want the poor tribute of my services to speak his praise. Such as they are, most freely have they been exerted in his cause; would that they had been better, they still should have been his.

I never felt the grasp of his friendly hand; I never sat under the shade of his hospitality, but I should disgrace the illustrious name I bear, I should disgrace my breeding at Mount Vernon, should I omit to speak the praise of virtue, and venerate the memory of the brave!

After the solemnities of the day had closed, on Tuesday, the most respectable and patriotic body of gentlemen we recollect ever to have seen assembled, sat down to a dinner prepared for them in Crawford's long room. In the course of the evening they were joined by a party of gentlemen from Virginia and Alexandria, who had dined together in a separate room, the long room being filled to overflowing, and numbers being obliged to dine at separate tables. At one time a hundred and twenty gentlemen repeated the toasts announced by the presidents of the different tables. They were all volunteers, and those that were preserved, with the names of their authors, are given to the public.



EXTRACT

FROM A

LONG TALK

DELIVERED BY DR. LEIB.

THE following character of our administration is given by one of their former friends. They have not the usual mode of silencing discussion and enquiry by exclaiming traitors—tories and federalists. Dr. Leib has been one of the most distinguished men in opposition to the federal party. He has joined heartily in all the measures of democracy, and has been an inflexible supporter of the cabinet. He has been for a long series of years intimately acquainted with all the measures of our administration, and was a man in whom they reposed entire confidence. He is their own witness, and he testifies to what he has heard and seen. Now if such is the character of our administration—if one of their own witnesses does not hesitate to testify to such examples of shocking and barefaced enormity—if their own party declare them too bad to be endured, what shall be said of those, who profess to love their country, and still support men as candidates for public offices, who are capable of the perpetration of such enormity! What is this but to confess, as plain as actions can be the interpreter of motives—that virtue and vice—honour and dishonour, sincerity and hypocrisy, truth and falsehood, honesty and treachery, patriotism and imposture, are all words which mean the self same thing; what is it but to say, that the greatest political knavery is the most entitled to public honours, and public confidence! Above all what will be said of a federalist, who after having so foul, so polluted, so damning a document as the following, forfeits his allegiance and fidelity to the ashes of Washington, and declines on the day of election to record by his vote, his eternal and unconquerable abhorrence of a cabinet, capable of perpetrating such depravity! Citizens of Maryland, are you awake—are you alive, and are you sensible of such depravity! Can you answer this question before God and your own conscience, how you can become spectators of such iniquity, without exercising the right of suffrage for its prevention! Ponder while time is yet allowed you for reflection—consider this question, whether you are willing calmly to surrender Maryland into the hands of a party, the chiefs of whom are held up as such monsters of depravity by the democrats themselves.—This is a flying moment, but it bears on its wings the fate of Maryland—Fellow-citizens awake—read—tremble for the fate of your country, and then record by your votes on the first Monday of September next, your detestation of the cabinet! Shew at least that you entertain as much scorn and contempt of our administration as Dr. Leib!

EXTRACT

From a Long Talk delivered before the Tammany Society, or Brethren of Principle, at the celebration of their Anniversary, May 13, 1816,

BY DR. MICHAEL LEIB.

BROTHERS,

A political association such as this society presents, ought to be like the picket guard of a camp, in presence of an enemy always on the alert, and ever watchful to guard against the approaches of every enemy to our republican institutions, and to aid in defending the palladium of our liberties against the assaults of open or concealed enemies. It is a sacred duty which we have pledged ourselves to perform, and from which we cannot shrink without infidelity to our families and to our country. What is there so important, so dear to man as freedom? 'Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still slavery, still thou art a bitter draught;' and whether the bondage be brought upon us by professed friends or avowed foes, 'thou art not the less bitter on that account.' To avert this bitter draught, and to transmit that glorious inheritance acquired for us by a Franklin and a Washington, and the other sages and heroes of the revolution, even to our children, it has become necessary for every patriot in this republic to be upon the watch-tower, and that no son of Tammany should slumber upon his post.

The guards provided by the constitution are founded on the experience of all times, that a republic is always in danger from men in power, and it is by vigilance alone that it can be preserved. History, said lord Bolinbroke, is philosophy, teaching by example: let us recur to this faithful monitor, and we shall find the melancholy record, that those who were elevated to power, by the favor or indulgence of the people, in all ages and in all countries, with too rare exceptions, became the robbers of their rights and the assassins of their happiness. If then, by an examination of the conduct of men in power in our yet young republic, we shall discover that the same causes which have produced the decline and fall of all republics, are already in operation among us, and arrived at an alarming height, we must resist the sinister encroachments in time, before evil becomes inveterate, and by a recurrence to first principles and a prompt and vigorous opposition to bad men and measures, or nothing short of miraculous interposition can save us from a similar fate with all the republics that have flourished and fallen before us. It will be in vain to pray to Hercules unless we put our own shoulders to the wheel and help ourselves.

Brothers, let us ask ourselves this question, are we in a better condition now as a *people* and a political party, than we were under the administration of President Adams? A little enquiry will demonstrate to us we are not: 'tis true that individuals who are in opposi-

tion to his administration, and who call themselves republicans, have profited by the change; but has our country been benefitted? Have our principles been improved? Has our constitution sustained no rude shocks? Have those abuses which were then reprobated been corrected? Have the enormities complained of in former times been avoided or diminished? Has the purity and simplicity of republican manners been preserved or chastened by the example or practice of the public agent?

President Adams did not pretend to be the friend of a representative democracy. He commenced that famous system of proscription which Mr. Madison has amplified and improved, that 'no man should hold an office under the government who thwarted its measures,' with this single difference between them, that Mr. Adams directed his vengeance against his political adversaries, against democrats; while Mr. Madison, with a spirit more truly inquisitorial, comprehends within his proscription, men of the same political family to which he professes to belong, and spares and patronizes time-serving federalists,* while he persecutes and destroys independent democrats.

Names only have changed or we might truly style the present, the administration of Mr. Adams continued. An examination of it will present us with the same features, the same extravagance, the same lust of power, the same disregard of the constitution, the same intolerance, the same impositions, the same injustice; in a word, if Mr. Madison had succeeded by inheritance, he could not have been a more humble imitator of the maxims and measures of President Adams, though not of his candor. It was said of general Hamilton, that he pronounced the constitution to be only paper and parchment; from this it would seem as if he had been gifted with the spirit of prophecy, and had foreseen that James Madison would become president of the United States.

Brothers, an accurate observer of the rise and fall of ancient republics, remarks, that "there cannot be a more certain symptom of the approaching ruin of a state, than when a firm adherence to a party is fixed upon as the only test of merit, and all the qualifications requisite to a right discharge of every employment, are reduced to this single standard." What then must be our condition, when men are measured, not by their virtues, not by their talents, not by their adherence to republican principles, not by their devotion to their country, but by their attendance at a drawing room, their subserviency to an executive magistrate, and an adherence to his party! to question the propriety of any measure, however it may be at war with all former professions, however injurious it may be thought to the public welfare, is sufficient to the proscription of the individual who had this daring; and no merit or past services can arrest his doom. The offices of the people are thus made the means of cor-

*To a democrat who remarked, that many of the old republicans were falling off from him, he replied, 'we are numerically and physically as strong as ever, for what we lose among republicans we gain among federalists!'

ruption, and public officers who of right belong only to the people, hold their offices by a kind of feudal tenure, and are converted into a body of Swiss, to march and countermarch, to present or to lay down their arms, to take aim, or to charge bayonet as the captain general or some setrap of his may direct. Does this state of things, that you cannot be ignorant of, manifest the purity or the integrity of our government? We have no longer a republican party holding the principles contained in the declaration of independence as sacred, and a rule of conduct for the government of a free people. It has been prostrated by power, and a party has arisen among its ruins, composed of the friends of executive magistrates, not unaptly compared to the Butes of Great Britain, household troops made up of the king's friends. It is not a party of federalists, but of a character more abhorrent to the republican mind; it is a party using old and reverend names as a mask, who are oligarchs in practice, and use British examples for their guide. The king can do no wrong in England, and here the president can do no wrong, according to existing maxims.—There, a chancellor of the exchequer directs the national representatives like puppets; and here the secretary of the treasury, a hopeful and important sprig from the stock of monarchy, speaks to the representative of freemen, as a pedagogue would to his school boys.—There venality stalks abroad in the face of day, and here it is covered only with a cobweb veil.—There, vice is arrayed in dignity, here it is studied with littleness and meanness. There the hard earnings of the poor have been filched from them without a sympathy; and here the purses of freemen are considered as open, to glut the cupidity and the avarice of men in power. There, war is considered a pastime, and here it is a chess board for political gamblers to play upon. This short analogy will satisfy you, my brethren, that instead of a republican, we have the rule of oligarchs, who make public functionaries as George the third makes knights of the Bath, or a minister of his members of parliament; and that in such hands we shall soon finish our republican career.

What has become of *economy*, the boast of the democrats, nay the pass-word to power! Have we seen any glimmerings of it through the darkness of the times? Shall we look for it in the act of congress to increase their pay to more than twelve dollars a day? Commerce is languishing, manufactures are at a stand, the currency embarrassed, taxes heavy, and the people in difficulties; and yet at such a moment, and with an enormous public debt upon our shoulders, our economical and democratic administration so called, more than double the congressional pay! The people to be sure will no longer have cause to complain of long sessions, for as members of congress are *salaried* by economy, the course of legislation will be as rapid as impatience itself would desire.—Hereafter congress will be enabled to despatch its business in about three months, or less, and then economical advocates of the new republican school may comfort themselves with an allowance of seventeen dollars a day.

But, brothers, there is a feature in this measure which so strongly marks the degeneracy of the times, that I must be permitted to call

your particular attention to it. The act, which more than doubles the pay of members of congress, is ushered into the world by a false title; it is a fraud upon the public and a deception practised to keep the people ignorant of the measure, as if the authors were ashamed or afraid it should be known.—There is a littleness, and meanness in it which has no legislative parallel in our country. The act is entitled “an act to alter the *mode* of compensating members of congress.” Is this true? The *mode* of compensation remains the same, while the amount is more than doubled. The speaker, no doubt draws his checks as usual, the money, I suppose is put into his hands by the treasurer and the sergeant at arms calls at the bank, receives the money and pays it over to the members. Unless then this method be altered, the mode remains the same; how unworthy then of a national legislature to resort to contemptible artifice to cover their outrage by its proper name, and say at once that it was an act to double or treble the pay of members of congress, and to place them upon the pension list? This would have been honest and an indication of their conviction, that the deed would bear the light.

Brothers, with real sorrow I say it, our republic is rapidly on the decline. The constitution which was made by the patriots and sages of our country, by the best heads, and the best hearts in it, is already little more than a caput mortuum; and yet a little longer in such hands, we shall understand how Augustus amused the Roman people with the shadows of the commonwealth, while the substance was held by Cæsar. We see already, that in fact, the president nominates his successor; he nominates and appoints the secretary of state, and an imperial senatus consultum, under executive advisement, constitutes the secretary of state president. The people are amused with slips of paper, upon which names are written; and they carry them to the poll and drop them into the box, and this is called the right of suffrage and the election of their public functionaries; when in fact sixty five members of congress, out of two hundred and eighteen, prohibited by the constitution from being electors, assemble in divan, drilled for the purpose, and exercise the functions of electors by dictating to the people who shall be their president!

And shall such men pretend to popular favor or public confidence? No, brothers, we have tried them and found them wanting; let them retire from their stations, and be it our duty to look for men to supply their places, who will not abuse their trust, who will administer the government in its true spirit, and not employ it for their own sordid or ambitious purposes. Let not the walls of the rebuilt palace (as it is nick-named) be profaned by the occupancy of a tenant, who, ingloriously surrendered that palace and the national capital to a band of modern Saracens, under another Omar, without a struggle; and by a dastardly flight* from the field of battle, appalled and dismayed

*After the first rocket was fired by the enemy at Bladensburgh, Mr. Madison called out, “Come general Armstrong, come colonel Monroe, let us go, and leave it to the commanding general,” and galloped from the field.”

the yeomanry of the country, who with a different example from their chief magistrate, would have died in its defence.

Brothers, we have too much cause for sorrow and alarm when we see venality in almost every department of the government; prodigality and profligacy walking hand in hand; honest men driven from office for daring to think as freemen; women interfering* and directing public affairs; embassies planned to make room for a brother in law;† servants of the people resembling the pomp and state of Persian setraps; when we see the constitution estimated as a piece of parchment, and an oath of office considered as imposing no moral obligations; when we see an English adventurer,‡ who is not by British laws, released from his allegiance, and who an illustrious chief magistrate pronounced an English agent not ten years ago, palsying the sinews of this nation in time of war with his monarch; and exercising a control over its destinies; while we are seized with astonishment at the phenomenon we cannot but behold in these things the rapid decline of this still infant republic, and its hasty march on the road to ruin.

I am aware, brothers, that in giving you this imperfect portrait of our affairs, and in daring to speak as a freeman, I expose myself to the malignity of corrupt men, and that all their curs and spaniels will be let loose upon me. Be it so, let them rail and let them revile; the only regret I shall feel on the occasion will be, in the reflection that the money and the offices of the public are employed to stifle free enquiry and to sap the foundation of our republican system. But while I have the power of utterance, and am not gagged by a sedition law, nothing shall deter me from raising my feeble voice to unmask hypocrisy, and expose corruption. It was not to become the panders of professional republicans out of office, but tyrants, when in, that we

*My husband and I, said the wife of a patriot of modern stamp, who boxed the political compass, are going to Washington to endeavour to get the ——— office, and I mean to apply to Mrs. M. to use her influence, and we shall certainly succeed; for the office my husband holds will not maintain us, and there is so little to be done at the law, that we shall be obliged to remove into the country unless Mr. ——— gets the ——— office. They went to Washington, and in a few days he returned with the commission in his pocket!!

The nomination to a high and dignified office was depending before the senate; at the request of Mrs. M. an officer of high rank waited upon a member of the senate, and in the name of Mrs. M. requested that he would vote for the nomination. "Tell Mrs. M. from me, replied the senator, that I came here to represent the state of ——— and not to represent her, and that whatever conscience and duty direct, will be done, and beyond this, neither she nor her husband have any thing to expect." This republican answer drew down executive vengeance upon the senator's head.

†Mr. Russel, the present minister to Sweden, was designed as the superintendent-general of military stores. Mr. Madison desired this place to be given to his brother-in-law, Richard Cutts, and said that he would make provision for Mr. Russel in another way; and out of this grew the Swedish mission, for Cutts was converted into a superintendent-general of military stores, a sort of fifth wheel to a coach, and Mr. Russel was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Sweden."

‡Mr. Dallas.

united our efforts with them to reduce President Adams to a private station. It was not a change of masters and a change for the worse too, which strung our nerves to resistance in the contest of '99 and 1800, it was principles and not men, which then formed our motto, and which I trust we never shall abandon, but with our lives. If the conduct of the men of our choice be worthy of the cause and worthy of themselves; if the republicans sustain the high character to which they pretend, as well in as out of power, we owe it to our principles and justice to give them our cordial support; but if they become our betrayers, and seek our ruin in their own aggrandizement, they merit a double portion of abhorrence. To endeavour to gratify ambition or cupidity by the ruin of a friend, is the worst of human vices, and ought to consign the perfidious wretch to everlasting infamy. We have been betrayed brothers, power has corrupted the men of our confidence and our choice. A change has become necessary to our safety. Liberty can endure in a pure atmosphere, produced by frequent changes only; in fact, to use the words of an enlightened commentator on the British government, "Exclusion by rotation, is the only bulwark of freedom."

Fellow-Citizens of Maryland!!

You have been often told by those who labour to deceive you, that all party scrambles are mere contests for power and for place. The democrats hope by this artifice to veil their own enormity. It is true that Jefferson has told us of public economy;—but fellow-citizens, will you after you have read the following statement from the People's Monitor, be led away by such deceptions as these! Here you see, fellow-citizens, a party boasting themselves of economy, squandering millions on their favourites in the shape of contractors agents, clerks, and taxing the people to make up the deficiency. What security have you, fellow-citizens, that the next tax will cover those deficiencies! No—the same wicked system will still be pursued—we shall have more favourites of the administration to turn public defaulters—we shall have more agents, more clerks, more contractors to maintain out of the money of the people. Yes, fellow-citizens, we shall have these patriotic mendicants in abundance! But can you so far forget what is due to yourselves, to your country, to posterity, as to submit in silence to impositions on the honest and laborious members of the community to pay for the deficiencies of the swindling friends of Mr. Madison. These are his own officers, men who inherit his confidence, men who are ready to join in the cry against the federal party, because they know that if they should come into power they would force them to refund the money of which they have robbed the public treasury. This is the ground of their hostility against the federal party and of their attachment to Mr. Madison. But, fel-

low-citizens remember what we now tell you. These four millions of dollars are not the only millions which will be purloined from the public treasury, if you give your confidence to such men—Mr. Madison has friends enough to be provided for—men who will have no more conscience than their predecessors have, in appropriating thousands of the public money to their own use, and who will be as great public delinquents as patriot Munroe, or any other member of the democratic party. Let but the next tax be but once collected, and we shall have another comfortable list of treasury delinquents. Another tax can be made to supply, and our public delinquents will encrease in proportion to the taxes. Thus while honest men are peaceably employed in the payment of our taxes, the public delinquent who is hereafter to be our president, certainly will not oppose his own system of finance. Let it be remembered that during the administration of Washington, there was but one public defaulter, and that defaulter was Edmund Randolph, who had a double claim to be considered a good staunch patriotic democrat, for he was both a public defaulter and a libeller of Washington.

PEOPLE'S MONEY AGAIN.

According to promise, we now lay before our readers an *official statement of balances which have been due more than three years prior to September last*, on the books of the Treasury of the United States. This statement was sent from the Treasury Department to Congress last winter, by the comptroller Mr. Anderson, with the following letter.

*Treasury Department,
Comptrollers office, Dec. 8th, 1815.*

SIR—In compliance with the provisions contained in the act of congress, entitled, “an act further to amend the several acts for the establishment and regulation of the Treasury, and War Departments” passed 3d March, 1809, I have the honour to transmit to congress statements of the accounts in the Treasury Department; those from the war and navy* departments have not yet been furnished, but it is expected they will in an early part of the session, and will then be duly transmitted.

*The navy list of balances we gave in our last from a document published after this, 17th January, 1816, which amounted to 260,378 dollars 36 cents.

Statement No. 1. contains a list of balances which appear to have been due more than three years prior to the 30th September last, on books of receipts and expenditures of the treasury.

Statement No. 2, contains a list of balances remaining on the revenue books of the Treasury, which appear to have been due for more than three years, prior to the 1st January 1815.

With great respect,

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

*The honorable HENRY CLAY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.*

This statement thus officially given by Mr. Madison's comptroller, contains the names of about *four hundred delinquent debtors on the treasury books*; and the amount of the balances thus due is as follows. Total amount of balances originating at the treasury of more than three years standing, one million five hundred and eighty-one thousand and fifty-six dollars.

Total amount of balances transmitted from the war department to the treasury, *three hundred and sixty thousand five hundred and two dollars.*

Total amount of balances transmitted from the war department to the treasury, *one hundred and eighty-seven thousand one hundred and thirty-four dollars*—making in all at the treasury, *two millions one hundred and twenty-eight thousand six hundred and ninety-two dollars.*

If these balances had been collected and settled as they ought to have been, they would have made a sum nearly equal to the nett amount of the present years direct tax, and of course would have obviated the necessity of laying that burden upon the people.—As it is we must have taxes both to pay our debts and defray the costly and growing expences of our rulers, as well as to be a substitute for that portion of the public money which is suffered to lie dead in the hands of individuals who have fingered it.

LOOK HERE,

At the names and amount of some of these gentry who have large balances standing against them; and above all, look at the remarks attending each ones name.—Here they are.

General Armstrong stands indebted five thousand six hundred and seventy-eight dollars—and nothing said as to further credits, or suit ordered, or any proceeding to get the money.

John Beckley, a famous democratic clerk of congress, stands indebted five thousand one hundred and twenty-one dollars—for which there is a judgment against his executors.—Beckley has been dead this twelve years.

Brown, Clarke, Hakeman and Owings, on account of protested bills of exchange, ten thousand six hundred and sixteen dollars. *Brown, Hakeman, Owings, Clark and Pascault*, for do. twenty eight thousand seven hundred and fifty nine dollars.

Samuel Annin, paymaster and store-keeper, Harper's Ferry, fifteen thousand seven hundred and two dollars.

William Blount, governor of Tennessee, one thousand dollars—stated to be *dead and insolvent*.

John H. Barnes, captain and paymaster in the army (O! what a glorious chance!) stands indebted six thousand eight hundred and sixteen dollars.

Joel Barlow, minister to France, forty nine thousand four hundred and fifty dollars—dead.

R. G. Beasley, consul at London, thirty four thousand six hundred and six dollars.

William C. C. Claiborne, governor of Orleans, fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty five dollars. This man is a great favorite of Mr. Jefferson's and Mr. Madison's, his accounts are large and of long standing and nothing done or talked of to bring him to a settlement. So much for favorites.

Solomon Ellis, contractor for Georgia, eleven thousand four hundred and eighty five dollars.—In suit, judgment had, but he has absconded.

Richard Forrest, clerk in the secretary of states office, who it is said has taken largely in the late war loans—forty three thousand eight hundred and seventy six dollars—he claims credits but his vouchers wont do.

Roger Gregory, agent of commissioners, Virginia, eighteen thousand nine hundred and sixty one dollars.

Tobias Lear, consul at Algiers, now accountant of the war department, ten thousand two hundred and forty two dollars.

This balance said to be reduced.

James Monroe, secretary of state and caucus president, seven hundred and twelve dollars—he claims further credits—pretty work, a balance that has been standing against him for more than three years, during which time he has pocketed out of the treasury more than twelve thousand dollars, and yet this balance stands upon a claim of further credits. Query, is this part of the money that Monroe took from the United States to buy a court dress for his wife when she was invited to attend at the coronation of Bonaparte? It is true and no man can deny it, that when James Monroe was minister in France at a salary of nine thousand dollars a year, he applied a large sum of the public money, many hundred dollars, to buy a dress for Mrs. Monroe to go to an imperial party.

Return J. Meigs, post master general at this time, stands indebted five thousand five hundred dollars.

William Pinkney, now minister to Russia, ten thousand four hundred and twenty-five dollars—he too claims credits.

Charles Pinkney—Mr. Jefferson's minister to Spain, one thousand two hundred and fifty eight dollars. This has been a long standing balance; and he has been requested to pay this balance.

Edmond Randolph of Virginia, secretary of state, fifteen thousand six hundred and eighteen dollars. Governor Nicholas of Virginia, is bound for this money, therefore it may be had, *if he has hogs enough to pay it*—otherwise as land and negroes are not liable to execution for debt in Virginia, he may live like a nabob and a governor, while the United States may whistle for their money; and tax the people to get money to supply its place.—But Virginia is altogether democratic; it is the great state that gives us republican presidents, republican secretaries of state, and republican every thing.—It is right that such a republican state as Virginia, under the direction of such renowned republicans as Mr. Jefferson and Madison and Monroe, should exempt its lands and slaves from execution for debt, whilst it confines the right of suffrage to freeholders—this is republicanism.—But take Mr. Monroe and Virginia, because he and she and you are all, all republicans.

Nicholas J. Roosevelt, contractor for copper for ships, thirty thousand dollars—all of which will be lost.

John Smith, contractor, (ah! those contractorships are fine things) twenty one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine dollars—said to be insolvent and has absconded.

Fulwar Skipwith, six hundred and seventy five dollars.

These are some of the most important democratic friends to the people who hold on tightest upon their cash—there are others amounting in all, as we before stated, to about four hundred debtors in all

HERE AGAIN.

Total amount of balances due on revenue books of collectors of customs, *which are of more than three years standing*, one million two hundred and seventy thousand, eight hundred and twenty-two dollars.

MORE.

Balances of internal revenue under act of congress 5th June, 1795, due ever since, two hundred and fifty-one thousand, five hundred and thirteen dollars.

MORE YET.

Balances of direct tax of two million, laid in John Adams' time, and due ever since, fifty-four thousand and seven hundred and seventeen dollars.

MORE AND MORE STILL.

Balances by receivers of public money on account of sales of public lands, who are now out of office, and have been due more than three years, fifteen thousand three hundred and eight dollars.

NOW FELLOW-CITIZENS

You get a small insight at the state of your public accounts and monies, which have been of more than three years standing. Be you assured there is ten times the derangement and ten times the amount of the sums due within the last five years, and principally flowing from the war. What is the amount of your floating war debt, in contra distinction to your funded debt? No one will pretend to say—but it is between ten and thirty millions of dollars—probably nearer to the last. What is the amount of unsettled balances in the hands of contractors, paymasters, &c. &c? No man will hazard a guess but they will constitute millions more—when we get hold of the list of balances from the war department we will give them, and then let the folks stand aghast!!!

Reflect on these things good people and say, if this is the way you wish your accounts and money matters to be managed, and if you are willing to be eternally taxed to put those taxes into the hands of such men. This is but a speck we have given you—a mere glance at the corruption, the mismanagement, the negligence of our rulers. The whole amount now presented from accountants of navy and treasury of neglected balances due the United States is about

FOUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS,

and nothing saved from the war department, except of those balances which have been transferred to the treasury.

Thus we have arrived at about four millions of dollars from under their own official hands which is corruptly or negligently suffered to lie dead to the government, whilst the people are actually taxed to make up that very deficiency. If this is justice—if this is right; then we confess ourselves wrong. We will give you a little more again.

PROTEST

Of the members of the minority of the democratic caucus assembled at Washington, for the nomination of James Munroe as a candidate for the office of president of the United States.

It is well known that a foul confederacy of democratic senators and representatives of congress at the last session, met for the purpose of robbing the people of the right of suffrage in the election of a president. They called themselves a Caucus, but they might with infinitely more propriety have denominated themselves a band of political sharpers convened for the purloining the free citizens of America of the right of suffrage. These conspirators assembled, and put up Mr. Munroe and Mr. Crawford as candidates for the office of president. Mr. Munroe, if we remember aright, obtained over his competitor a majority of six votes. With an effrontery that beggars all description, the members of this cabal, publicly nominated James Munroe as the candidate of their choice for the presidential office.—These constitute the pretensions of that man to the first honours in the gift of his country. He relies on the beggarly recommendation of a knot of individuals, who dare unblushingly to betray public confidence, and to dictate to millions of freemen how they shall vote. The following is we believe the protest of the minority of that cabal; or in other words, of the men who with as little regard to shame, as to political integrity, supported the pretensions of Mr. Crawford.—Now every man of honor in the state of Maryland is seriously called upon to say, at the ensuing election, whether he will by his vote support a party who can thus produce such charges against themselves. Read, fellow-citizens, read the character of Munroe as detailed in the following pages by the democratic party—Read and remember that all these charges are unquestionable, for they came from the democrats themselves—Read and remember that the same party who wish to engross Maryland at the ensuing election support a candidate, whose character appears drawn in such hideous colouring by the members of his own party. Above all, let a federalist remember, that if he does not appear at the polls in September next, he does all in his power to secure the election of a man, who is with such singular emphasis and energy despised by his own party.

EXPOSITION

Of the motives for opposing the nomination of Mr. Munroe for the office of president of the United States.

Circumstances have arisen which make it proper to explain to the nation, and to the republican party in particular, some of the leading

motives which induced the representatives of the people, in the late caucus at Washington to oppose the nomination of Mr. Munroe for the office of president of the United States. The exposition will be brief, it is hoped it will be clear, and to every impartial mind it must be satisfactory.

The objection to colonel Monroe as a candidate for the presidency was two-fold: First, as it regarded the *policy* which presented him for adoption to that high station: Secondly, as it respected his particular qualifications for the chief magistracy.

On the first point, the following considerations, founded upon facts universally known, seemed irresistibly to prescribe his exclusion: The present constitution has been in operation about 27 years, during the whole of which term (excepting four years) the president has been from the state of Virginia. This monopoly of the first post in the government, so far from being considered by the Virginians as an encroachment on the fair claims of the other sections of the union, has, by dextrous sophistry, been converted into an argument to prove, that those who question the propriety of continuing power for so long a time in the same hands, are only guided by ambition, or impelled by factious motives; as if the tenacity with which a few men, in that state, cling to the presidential succession, were not in itself an admonitory indication in them of the most ardent and unquenchable thirst for power. But this feature of local policy, odious as it is, would not have awakened a spirit of indignant resistance, had it not been apparent, that in order to insure its success, the whole weight of the republican party for fifteen years past, had been artfully wielded to *cut off* from popular respect and estimation the most distinguished characters in other parts of the United States: To support this assertion it is only necessary to recur to a few facts within the recollection and observation of every politician who has been on the public stage.

First—With a view of securing the presidency to a Virginian, a vice president for Mr. Jefferson's second term of office was selected from New York, of an age to advanced to render it probable he would be chosen to the chief magistracy; but by rendering him the most prominent character, it formed an insuperable barrier to the pretensions of other distinguished men in that state. The claims of the elder Clinton were accordingly superseded by those of Mr. Madison. Care was taken that this circumstance should not be overlooked at the critical moment, and Mr. Jefferson about to retire from office, in an answer to an address from the legislature of Maryland, alluded to it in terms too glaring to be mistaken. The same policy was again adopted in the selection of Mr. Gerry from Massachusetts.

The vice president of the United States should be possessed of every qualification to discharge the important duties which would devolve on him in the event of the death of the president: and when it is taken into consideration that merely to secure the *Virginian succession*, the best interests of the country are jeopardized, by calling men to that office who are superannuated, and past the discharge of

important functions, it cannot but be viewed by the people with disgust, if not with indignation.

Secondly, about the same period the state of New York brought general Armstrong into public notice. He had been a senator in congress from that commonwealth. His genius was feared. He was *taken off* by a foreign embassy. His diplomatic career in France was marked by spirit and ability—and at his return he became popular in the United States. He accepted a seat in the cabinet, at a time of great difficulty and responsibility. Respecting his administration of the department of war, there have been various opinions. He alleges that he experienced perpetual embarrassment in the concern of his department, by the unusual interference of “a great civil officer of state,” viz. colonel Monroe. The capture of the metropolis was adroitly seized upon as a pretext for denouncing him. The particular and personal friends of colonel Monroe, uniting with the federalists, insulted him in the streets of Washington, and Mr. Madison discarding him from office, gave the fatal blow to his reputation. Whatever might have been the conduct of general Armstrong, it is evident that the *president, when he took the field as commander in chief*, was at least equally responsible for the safety of the capital. Colonel Monroe also *took the field*, and formed a part of the troops at Bladensburg.

After having thus *volunteered* his services in a military capacity, it remains for him to account to the nation, why he was not among the troops, rallying and encouraging them, instead of precipitating himself to the rear, and being among the foremost in that disastrous, disgraceful retreat. Why did he not take measures for the security of the public buildings, which could have been defended by four hundred men properly posted in them? But general Armstrong was made the scape-goat of the transaction.

Thirdly. The severity of Virginia policy has no tenderness even for citizens of her own state, should they be sufficiently disinterested and independent to oppose this monopolizing spirit. Mr. Giles was a republican of the first grade and talents, and no one has rendered more services to the nation in the legislative body. He was known to be opposed to the elevation of colonel Monroe to the presidency, from a diminutive opinion of his abilities. He was gradually disclaimed, and finally compelled to retire.

Fourthly—The man in Massachusetts who appeared most likely to disturb the Virginia succession, was John Quincy Adams. He was removed by an embassy to Russia. Mr. Madison proffered him a judgeship, which he had the sagacity to refuse. By being constantly abroad, he will be kept from the view of the people, and his claims, which are every way superior to Mr. Monroe's, will in this way be prevented from interfering with the *regular succession*.

Fifthly—A prominent trait in the policy of Virginia, in regard to the presidency, and one which has made a deep impression, is the open countenance shewn to the particular personal friends of Aaron Burr, on account of their long continued and persevering hostility to

Mr. Clinton. The patronage showered upon the persons most in the confidence of that man, is indeed extraordinary, because not one of them had been conspicuous for services rendered to the nation, or sacrifices to promote the welfare of the republican party. Some idea may be formed of the governmental profusion in this particular, from the following appointments, which have all taken place within the compass of Mr. Madison's administration, viz.

William P. Van Ness, the second to Burr in his duel with general Hamilton, district judge of New York.

His brother, John P. Van Ness, superintendent of the public buildings at the city of Washington, with a salary of 1600 dollars and contracts,

And Cornelius P. Van Ness, in the first instance, United States district attorney in Vermont; then collector of the customs for the same district; and lately appointed a commissioner for running the boundary line, with a salary of 5000 dollars per annum.

Jonathan Fisk, United States attorney for the district of New-York.

Besides several others, who it is not necessary to designate. These all belong to that class of politicians, called Burrtes, known to be the most welcome guests at the president's house, and in all the public offices of the government. The object of this patronage is perfectly understood. They form a small but active band of politicians in New York, and have always had a press at their command, whose attacks have been directed against De Witt Clinton, as the man most likely, from his talents and high standing with the republican party, to interfere with the "regular succession." This band is in constant correspondence through its associates at Washington with the administration—and all its proceedings at New York have been subservient to the Virginia policy. It was in this way Mr. Clinton was a long time cut off from the confidence of the republican party. He, however, has now regained his standing with the republicans of New York.

It is true, that Mr. Clinton, in compliance with the solicitations of the New York legislature, committed an error in permitting his name to be set up against Mr. Madison, at an unfortunate period—the same, however, is equally true as it regards col. Monroe; with this difference, that the latter was discountenanced by the Virginia legislature, and still persevered in his opposition to Mr. Madison. The one was pardoned and taken into favor, and the other has labored under the weight of court proscription and denunciation. And yet it is acknowledged by the most intelligent of colonel Monroe's friends, that as to all endowments which should belong to the chief magistrate of this country, strength of mind, knowledge of character, decision, literary, legal, and philosophical attainments, and enlarged views of national policy, there is no comparison between him and Mr. Clinton.

This perseverance and bitterness of proscription was less pardonable, as Mr. Clinton was the most zealous in revolutionizing New York to republican principles—and from the year 1799, when this

revolution (which secured the election of Mr. Jefferson) was first effected, until 1812, the era of his denunciation, was the pride, the stay and support, the life and soul of the republican party, in that important state. That gentleman is in all his principles of government, strictly, and *sternly* a republican—as the elder Clinton was wont to say of him, he *was born a republican*. His great error was interfering with the *regular succession* at an unfortunate period—even the *Burrites* cannot accuse him of opposing the war. But it will never be a reason why Virginia persecution should slacken, that the object of it is, in all respects, a suitable character for chief magistrate of the country—on the contrary, the furnace will glow with a heat more intense—the arrow will be dipped in a more fatal venom.

Sixthly—Every distinguished republican in other states, who might justly aspire to the presidential office, having, in this manner been thrown in the back ground, nothing remained but to *popularize* col. Monroe—and that was effected as if it were by enchantment. His former hostility to Mr. Madison was forgiven—a conciliatory dinner was provided in the neighborhood of Mr. Jefferson's residence, at which were present Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Col. Monroe, and there the plan was laid. Col. M. as a preliminary step was elected governor of Virginia, was hurried thence into the office of Secretary of State—and from that very moment every measure in peace and in war, on the part of the executive, has pointed towards his elevation to the chief magistracy. The press, which alas! is venal, was put at his disposal, by the patronage bestowed in printing the United States' laws. The newspapers under his control have been constantly teeming with the grossest panegyrics—and the people who know not the man, take their impressions only from the public prints. Even the National Intelligencer, which is well known to be a subservient organ of the executive, has been filled with adulation, at which a mind of the least delicacy must sicken with disgust.—The hired applauders at the theatre afford not an instance of more disgusting venality.

It is thus, that, *in the name of republicanism*, a few leading men in Virginia, have outrageously violated republican principles. They have with extraordinary art, made use of the zeal, the honest prejudices, and devotion of the republican party to further the purposes of a selfish ambition, and accomplish the degradation of every other state in the union. Having thus, by various artifices, *cut off* from the good will of the people, the eminent characters of other states, they tauntingly exclaim, *who is so popular as our candidate!* This is worse than scorn: it is cruel mockery!

Seventhly—It is not necessary to dwell upon the circumstances of Mr. Jefferson's having, in the flood tide of republicanism, enforced an alteration in the constitution. It was unfortunate that the republicans were precipitated into that measure. They now find the evil of it. Instead of the question being left at large between two of our best citizens, by the mode of designation now in practice, an individual is enabled to intrigue directly for the office.

Eighthly—To these various causes of legitimate opposition to the Virginian policy, there is a point to be added, that in some sort touches the honor of the republican party. In the gloomy times of the late contest, when the city of Washington had been burnt, and war wore a menacing aspect on different points of the frontier, when Mr. Dallas had officially proclaimed the nation a bankrupt, and Virginia found herself unable to sustain the incumbent weight of domestic odium, and foreign hostilities, colonel Monroe commissioned two of his friends to declare to the republicans of congress that he abdicated his pretensions to the presidency, and would lend his influence in the support of a candidate from any state. But no sooner did the horizon begin to clear up, and victory at New Orleans give an earnest of the speedy return of peace, than he recalled his abdication; and the same friends, honorably indignant, as it is understood, at this proceeding, were instructed to explain, and state that col. Monroe's intentions did not correspond with his words. For the truth of this statement, the curious enquirer may appeal to general J. G. Jackson, or to gen. Desha.

Ninthly—But it is not the north and east alone, over which the policy of Virginia has predominated. The minor offices have indeed been bestowed in that quarter, whilst Pennsylvania has been studiously neglected, and only escaped the abasement intended her by the energy of the late John Smilie. The third census placed New York, in point of population, at the head of the union. It was with grief Virginia saw herself removed, by natural causes, from that high eminence, and she resolved at least to fill the second *niche*. Accordingly the late John Dawson, a relative of colonel Monroe, and intimately in the confidence of the administration, before the bearing of the census was fairly understood, proposed in congress 37,000 as the ratio of each representative. This would have thrown Pennsylvania by one member of congress behind Virginia. Smilie penetrated the design, and united the Pennsylvania delegation in favor of a ratio of 35,000, which prevailed. This raised that state to an equal rank with Virginia. The files of the *Intelligencer* will amply verify these particulars. It is remarkable too, that the *policy* of Virginia has led her to shower the patronage and offices of government on refractory states. Her most faithful friends she most neglects. Secure in the obedience of the South, they experience but little of the blushing honors and rich patronage of office. The great and important state of North Carolina, is an example of most marked and persevering neglect. Not an important officer of administration, a foreign minister,* or any other officer of importance, has been selected, from that state since the adoption of the constitution. The reason is obvious. She can be *otherwise* governed; and why waste honors and emoluments on a state sufficiently acquiescent in the views of the *succession*, when discontented and restless states call, with a turbulent voice, "*for office and patronage.*"

* General Davie was indeed, on a special mission; for a short time.

So many efforts, all tending to the same result, cannot have been the effect of accident. They incontestably establish, on the part of a few leading men in Virginia, a systematic design of perpetually governing the country, not upon the sound and general principles of republicanism, but by taking the advantage of the generous bias and unsuspecting passions of the republican party, by official management, the venality of the press, and governmental patronage.

On the second point of the objection, namely the *particular qualifications* of colonel Monroe for the presidency, the consideration against him were not less cogent and weighty. His best friends allow him to be but of moderate capacity, and slow of comprehension. This it is notorious, gives to those around him an undue influence over his intellectual determinations; and leads him in a throng of business, to commit the most important affairs of state to incompetent hands. Urbanity is not denied him; but that, by rendering him more accessible, lays him still more open to the artifices of imposture. A man of this cast will always keep talent at a distance, and surround himself by compliant mediocrity, and hypocritical dullness.

The slowness of comprehension, and want of penetration and decision in col. Monroe, have been conspicuous throughout his whole political life. In France, he mistook his instructions, and committed great blunders or wilful errors: and was recalled by gen. Washington. In England, also, he misconstrued his instructions, or rather perversely acted contrary to them, and signed a treaty with such mortifying conditions annexed, that Mr. Jefferson indignantly sent it back without consulting the senate.—He was recalled in disgrace. Thus disclaimed in his diplomatic career by federal and republican administrations, candor must allow that he has no title to rank with the first characters in America. But thus ordinarily gifted, col. Monroe has furnished unequivocal evidence that his lust for power is insatiable.

Returning from England at a time when he knew he was not the choice of the republican party for the presidency, he coalesced with the federalists of Virginia, in opposition to Mr. Madison. Why should that gentleman escape censure on this score? The executive mantle is too thin to conceal the deformity. To promote his ambitious views, he forced into public notice his *private* correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, and never ceased his hostility to Mr. Madison until he was assured of being brought into the department of state. If the executive has the power to nominate as his successor, a man who notoriously incompetent, has committed the greatest political errors, and outraged the will of the republican party, it is evident that election is a farce, and the voice of the people an unmeaning sound!

Besides these weighty objections to col. Monroe, on these main points, there are others of a very serious nature.—Power has continued so long in the same hands, that in many instances the incumbents of office appear to be losing sight of the fundamental principles of republican government.

A system of *official management*, and speculation on the disbursements of office appears to be gaining ground, that threatens to sub-

vert the plain and wholesome provisions of the constitution. Ideas of economy are no longer in fashion at Washington; banking and funding systems, which give rise to iniquitous stock-jobbing, the art of governing by presidential patronage, and entangling intercommunications with Europe, are alone in vogue. Such a state of things seems loudly to demand a change in the executive office; and this change can never be effected, so long as the office is transmitted from the one to the other in *regular succession*. Large balances of unsettled accounts remain unadjusted on the books of the treasury; colonel Monroe himself, it is understood, is still a delinquent on these books, to a very considerable amount. One fact, in this respect, will speak more than a volume. The late consul of the United States at Algiers, returning home, and still having an unsettled account of some thousands of dollars, was nevertheless appointed accountant of the war department. The debt which he owes to the nation is a guarantee of his obedience to the government in the settlement of any account, in any mode that may induce an accession of influence to a favorite candidate.

These are some of the reasons which induced fifty-four republican representatives of the people to oppose the nomination of col. Monroe in caucus. They supported Mr. Crawford, because they knew him to be independent, virtuous and able. Had it not been for the discouraging delicacy of that respectable gentleman, and his more immediate friends, he would, beyond all question, have been nominated for the presidency. It is with regret we announce our belief, that this gentleman will not consent to be looked to as the candidate of what we conceive to be a majority of the republicans.

This candid exposition of motive is confidently submitted to the people. Supreme arbiters if they choose, it is for them to decide whether the conduct of those opposed to col. Monroe has been instigated by unworthy motives, or guided by sound, honorable and constitutional principles; it is for them to determine whether they will elect as their chief magistrate, a person recommended to them only by the casting vote of the Virginia delegation, after having in that state enjoyed that high office, twenty-four out of twenty-eight years, against whom fifty-four republican delegates, representing two millions of people, after deliberate investigation and personal observation on the spot, had such great and insurmountable objections. A man recommended by the casting vote of eleven Virginians, who refused to go into caucus until made certain of success, and then only with the express declaration, that they would **SUPPORT THEIR FAVORITE CANDIDATE IN OPPOSITION, IF THERE SHOULD BE A MAJORITY AGAINST HIM**—A man whose nomination was opposed not only by several representatives of high respectability, who, from principle did not go into caucus, but the elevated and high minded MACON, whose virtue and talents are an ornament to his country, and who with propriety is ranked throughout the nation as one of the fathers of the republican party. It rests with the people to decide, whether a system of executive favoritism and

patronage, subversive of the fundamental and wholesome principles of republican liberty, shall be prolonged; or whether by inducting a new man to office, not trammelled and shackled by the retainers of the court, abuses shall be formed, prodigality abolished, the constitution brought back to its original principles of purity, disaffection quieted, and the existence of the great republican party perpetuated.

CITIZENS LOOK HERE!

The democrats of Maryland have been beyond measure loud and clamorous, because they suspected the federalists of introducing voters into Annapolis. Meetings were held and a number of wonderfully important resolutions adopted, denouncing their opponents with every possible term of crimination and reproach, and in short if their patriotism can be proved by their curses, they are the most patriotic body that ever existed. In the midst of all this bustle, uproar and confusion, they were suddenly alarmed by the production of the following certificates. They found to their astonishment, that they had been denouncing their own system of policy, and exclaiming in the most vociferous manner against their own party. In short, these documents have fairly silenced the democrats themselves. Just in the midst of their electioneering denunciations, when they deemed their triumph complete, they found by these documents all their invectives retorted upon themselves.

In short it does appear that the members of this party make it their constant business to lay down rules to be violated by themselves. But this is no novelty; with such patriots as these, bribery and corruption, falsehood, misrepresentation and slander, form the order of the day. This is the tenure by which they gain, and by which they abuse the confidence of their country. To talk of public virtue and to practice public depravity, this is the ground and principle of their actions. Let them now read their own invectives against the federal party, and then the following certificates—let them carefully compare the one with the other, and resist the conclusion if they can, that they did not gravely sit down to write libels on themselves. In short, since the appearance of these documents, we have heard very little from the democrats on the Annapolis question. It remains for our fellow-citizens to say, whether they will at the ensuing election, entrust the welfare of Maryland to a faction, who stand thus self condemned on their own principles, who have been detected in the perpetration of the very act which they have reprobated and denounced, and who are now compelled to fly from the political field, covered with shame and confusion, to escape from their own invectives.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

Having seen by reading some late numbers of a paper called the People's Advocate, (which from its many falsehoods and abusive language, may be considered the forlorn hope of the democratic party in this state) that those advocates of the rights of the people considered the transferring voters to the city of Annapolis as a "conspiracy, a daring outrage" against the rights of the citizens and the purity of elections! it is proposed to shew, that their brethren, the democrats of Kent, had been previously guilty of the very offence with which they charge the federalists of Annapolis.

I first lay before you the two following certificates:

I do hereby certify, that I was at the office of Ezekiel F. Chambers, esquire, on the second of December last, and in conversation with him, heard the said Ezekiel F. Chambers, esq. say, "that they were going to have a meeting that afternoon, the object of which meeting was, to put down, or overthrow federalism.

BENJAMIN HOWARD.

June 8th, 1816.

On the 2d day of December, when in Chester-town for the purpose of taking out a license for the sloop David Porter, I had occasion to pass through the passage of the tavern, then kept by capt. Campbell, and in passing the left hand front room, two men were standing near the door way, and appeared to be somewhat in liquor; they were exulting in the idea of giving the federalists a complete defeat in Kent county at the ensuing election; observing that "they had already got fifteen men into the upper district, and that they should give the feds a complete dressing," or words to that effect. Some further conversation passed between them, which I did not distinctly hear, and I then passed on and transacted my business with the collector. After I left the tavern, I mentioned to some federal gentlemen that the election in Kent was lost unless measures were taken to counteract this importation plan, and expressed my willingness to lend all the aid I could to defeat so unfair a mode of proceeding with a view to defeat the fair voice of the people of that county. On that day a very large collection of people were at the tavern, which I understood to be a democratic meeting—Several of the leading democrats were certainly there.

RICHARD I. JONES.

May 6, 1816.

It is certain that a meeting did take place in December, a season of the year in which it was unusual to hold political meetings in this county, and it appears from Mr. Jones' certificate, that the goodly work of bringing in voters had already commenced. At the election in October, the federal ticket had succeeded throughout, although some divisions existed at that election among federalists—from this circumstance it is fair to conclude that captain Chambers must have grounded his expectations on the new plan of "overthrowing federalism."

I certify, that in the course of a conversation held with capt. Frederick Wilson, in Mr. John Wallis, jr's. counting house, in the city of Baltimore, in the latter part of the month of March, or first of April last past, on the subject of introducing voters into Kent county, he admitted that they (the democrats) had done so, but had effected it in rather a more decent manner than the federalists, having got them there, and employed them as overseers, and that their opponents had got them in and boarded them without giving them employment.—Some other conversation passed on the subject, but the general tenor thereof, the subscriber doth not recollect. Given under my hand this 15th day of May, 1816.

JONATHAN H. FALCONAR.

I hereby certify, that on the 23d day of February, 1816, I was in company with Mr. Thomas Selway, who resided in Queen Anne's county last year, and who has been in the employment of Mr. James Harris, a cart-wright, of Kent county, since some time in January last. In the course of our conversation, I observed to him, that I supposed the democrats meant to carry the elections the ensuing fall: he stated that they were sanguine; I then enquired of him, what they calculated on, to which he replied that they calculated on the deaths in the county, which were favorable to them, and on the transport men. I then asked him who the transport men were.—He answered, men from Queen Anne's.—Upon which I enquired of him in what parts of the county they resided. He said there were a few in the lower and middle districts, and mostly in the upper district, in all, to the best of my recollection, from twenty to thirty, as he had understood.

JEREMIAH NICOLS:

Kent County, May 18, 1816.

I certify, that in a conversation with Mr. James Harris, of Kent county, early in March last, he told me that he expected the demo-

crats would succeed in Kent at the next election, in consequence of the deaths among the federalists, and that the democrats had got more men from Queen Anne's than the federalists. Witness my hand this 10th day of June, 1816.

WILLIAM SAMPSON.

I hereby certify; that some time about the 1st January last, on my way from Chester town, I fell in company with a young man, whose name I believe was Taylor; I enquired how far he had been riding; he informed me, he had been as far as Mr. Unit Angier's, and that he was about to live with him; that Mr. Angier wanted ten or a dozen young men to come to Kent, and he would find them employment, but they must be democrats.—Upon my bantering him on the subject, he acknowledged the object was to secure the election.

Given under my hand this 10th day of May, 1816.

JAMES MASSEY.

Kent County, to wit:

Personally appears John Turner, of Kent County, before me the subscriber, one of the justices of the peace of the state of Maryland, for the county aforesaid, on this twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixteen; and makes oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God, that Thomas Taylor, late of Queen Anne's county, now lives at one of Mr. Unit Angier's farms in Kent county.

Sworn before me,

JAMES ARTHUR.

I do hereby certify, that a short time since I happened at the counting house of Solomon Betts, of the city of Baltimore, when a conversation ensued upon the subject of introducing voters into different counties, for the purpose of influencing the election. It was stated that the democratic party had commenced the business, and that the federalists had been reluctantly compelled to resort to this measure by way of retaliation. A gentleman present enquired of Mr. Betts whether he had not heard Doctor George Thomas, (a very candid and respectable democrat of Kent county) admit the fact; when Mr. Betts gave him the following statement: that Dr. Thomas and Mr. William Alexander, of Elkton, were in company with him in the city of Baltimore, in the month of March last, they were conversing upon the subject of the next senatorial election, when the doctor remarked that he doubted about the general result of the elections through the State, but that Kent would certainly be demo-

cratic. Mr. Betts then asked the doctor what grounds he had for forming such an opinion; that the federalists had succeeded in Kent for the last four years, and that he saw nothing in our political affairs to produce a change in favor of democracy. To which the doctor replied, that the democrats calculated upon success from the number of emigrants from Queen Anne's. Mr. Betts then asked whether they were all of the same politics? To which the doctor replied, that they had taken good care of that, and that they had made the thing sure. Mr. Betts then remarked, that it was a little extraordinary that the democratic party should make such a bustle about the removals to Annapolis, when it appeared that they themselves had done the same thing, and asked the doctor what was the difference in a moral point of view between the federalists introducing voters into Annapolis, and the democrats introducing voters from Queen Anne's into Kent; to which the doctor replied, that they had brought their voters into Kent at the beginning of the year, in the character of overseers and laborers, but that the federalists had removed their voters after the year had commenced, and he understood had boarded them out without giving them employment—at which Mr. Alexander indulged in a hearty laugh. Mr. Betts then requested the doctor to be particular in what he said, as these candid confessions might at some future day rise in judgment against him. The doctor seemed a little alarmed, lest he might possibly have gone too far with his admission; but upon Mr. Betts recapitulating the substance of the conversation, doctor Thomas, with his usual frankness, admitted it to be correct. Given under my hand on the 1st June, 1816.

WILLIAM GRAVES.

It is not correct as stated in captain Wilson's conversation, that the federalists have men boarded in Kent, who are without any employment. Some persons who came to reside in Kent, put up at Mr. Hynson's tavern for a few days, until they got into business. It is proper to state, that E. F. Chambers, Frederick Wilson, Thomas Selway, James Harris, Unit Angier and Thomas Taylor, are democrats. By their declarations it has been proved that the democrats transferred men into Kent, and with the view of securing the election. Much more proof of the same kind can be procured. Some material facts are expected, and will be published in a short time.

The federalists of Kent thus becoming acquainted with the schemes of democracy to silence and overthrow the fair expression of the will of the people, thought it most adviseable to resort to similar measures as the only probable means of counteracting this new kind of policy. And now it appears that the democrats goaded by their disappointment and mortification, produced by the failure of their plans, have had the effrontery to call that bribery and corruption, of which they are the original authors and perpetrators, and to the ingenuity of which they are exclusively and fairly entitled. It will now be

seen what regard they entertain for the opinions of the people, how sacred they esteem the purity of elections, and how zealously they maintain the cause of justice and truth. Their hypocrisy is as base as it is shameless.

A Citizen of Kent.

The following Certificate proves that the practice of *importing voters* into federal counties was commenced by the democrats as early as the year 1813:—

I do hereby certify, that sometime in the year 1813, I happened at Centreville, where I met with Mr. William Chambers,* who supposing, as I imagine, that I was a democrat from the circumstance of my being an Irishman, and the principal of Washington College, (a majority of the trustees of which institution were of that particular sect) entered into conversation with me upon the subject of the approaching election. He remarked that the democrats had established the factory in Chester town with the view to secure the election in Kent, and had brought in democrats from Queen Anne's to assist their plan, and that he was satisfied that a sufficient number would be introduced to answer the purpose.

Given under my hand in the city of Baltimore, this eleventh day of June, 1816.

HUGH MAGUIRE.

ADDITIONAL.

A Certificate of Mr. John W. Thomas, a respectable merchant of the City of Baltimore.

I do hereby certify, that sometime last winter, at Mr. Barney's tavern, in this city, I met with Mr. N. S. Dawson, an acquaintance of mine, from Elkton, with whom I commenced a conversation on the

*This William Chambers is the identical gentleman, who was appointed, for the violence of his politics, treasurer on the Eastern Shore; and who is very willing to hold the office again, just for the good of the people, and so he is a good patriot.

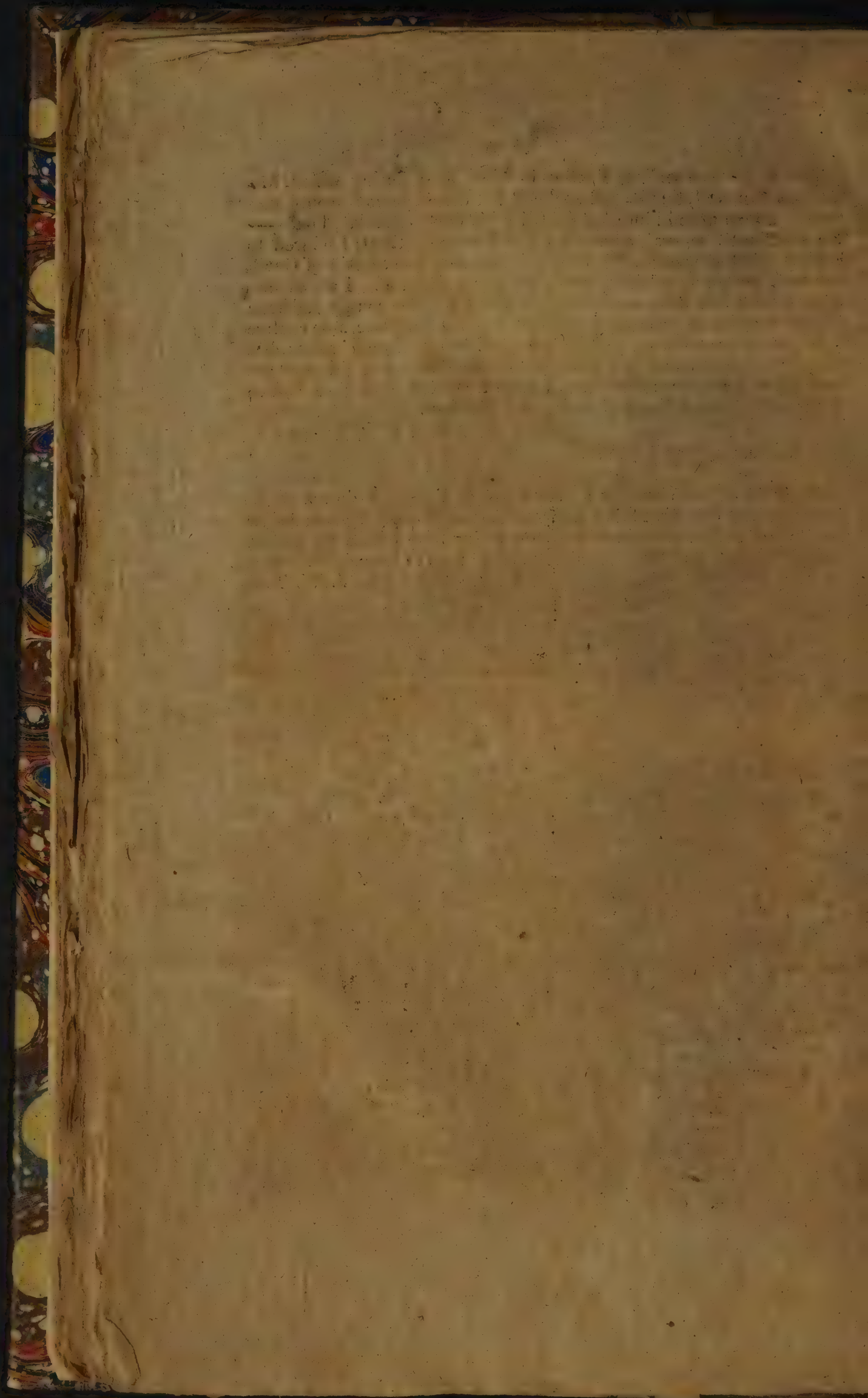
subject of the approaching election in Maryland; during which, Mr. Dawson observed, that he had no doubt but the democrats would succeed. I then asked him what counties his party calculated on?—He mentioned several, among the rest Cecil and Kent; I offered to bet him a hat upon each. He then said he was not so certain of Cecil, but took me up upon Kent, which he was certain of. I asked him what caused him to be so confident of Kent; that the county had been federal for several years, and unless there was a considerable change that it would remain so. He said he had heard of no changes, but that several gentlemen from Kent had informed him, that they had got over (to use his own expression) a swarm of democrats from Queen Anne's to reside in Kent, since the last election.

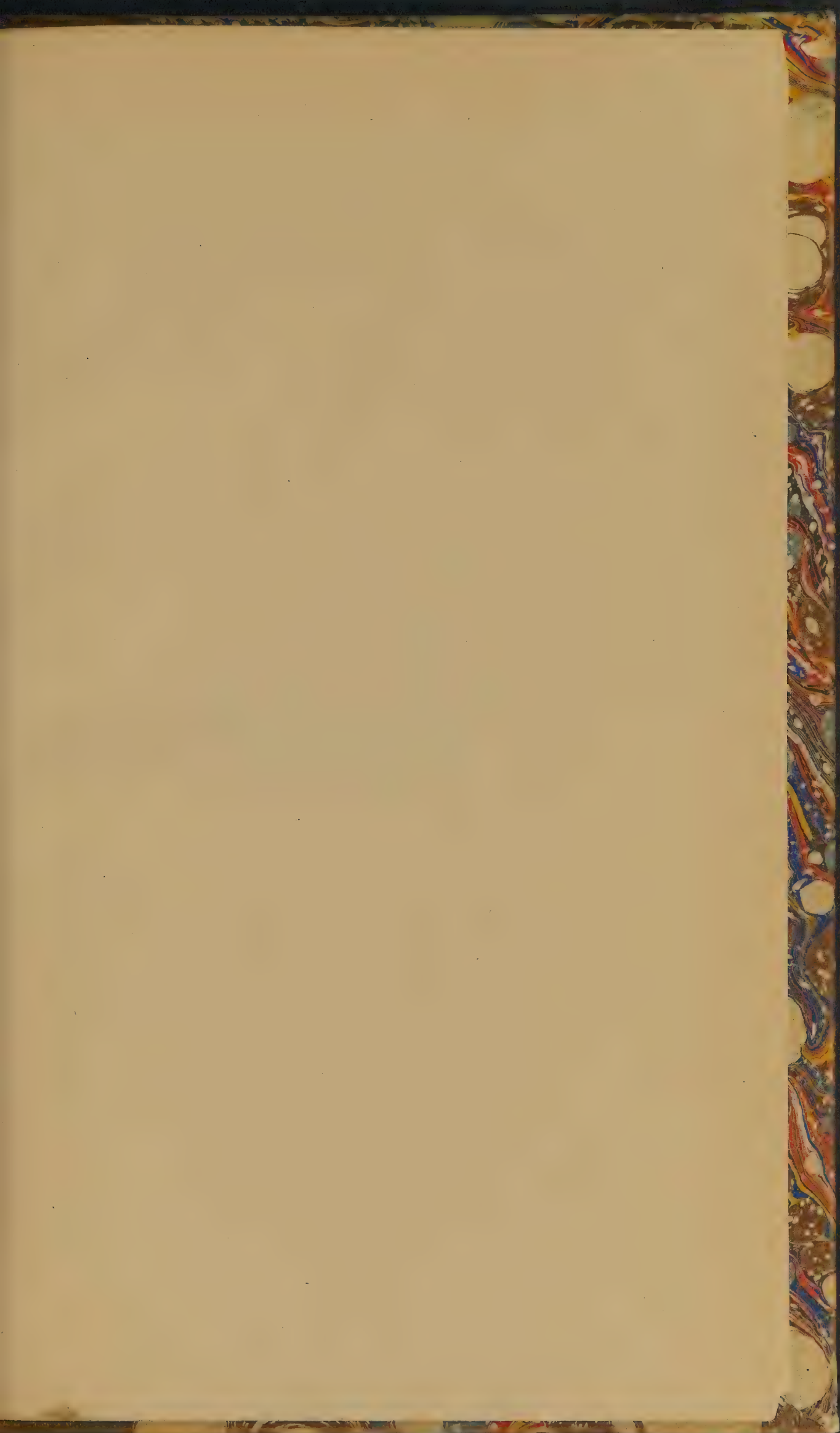
JOHN W. THOMAS.

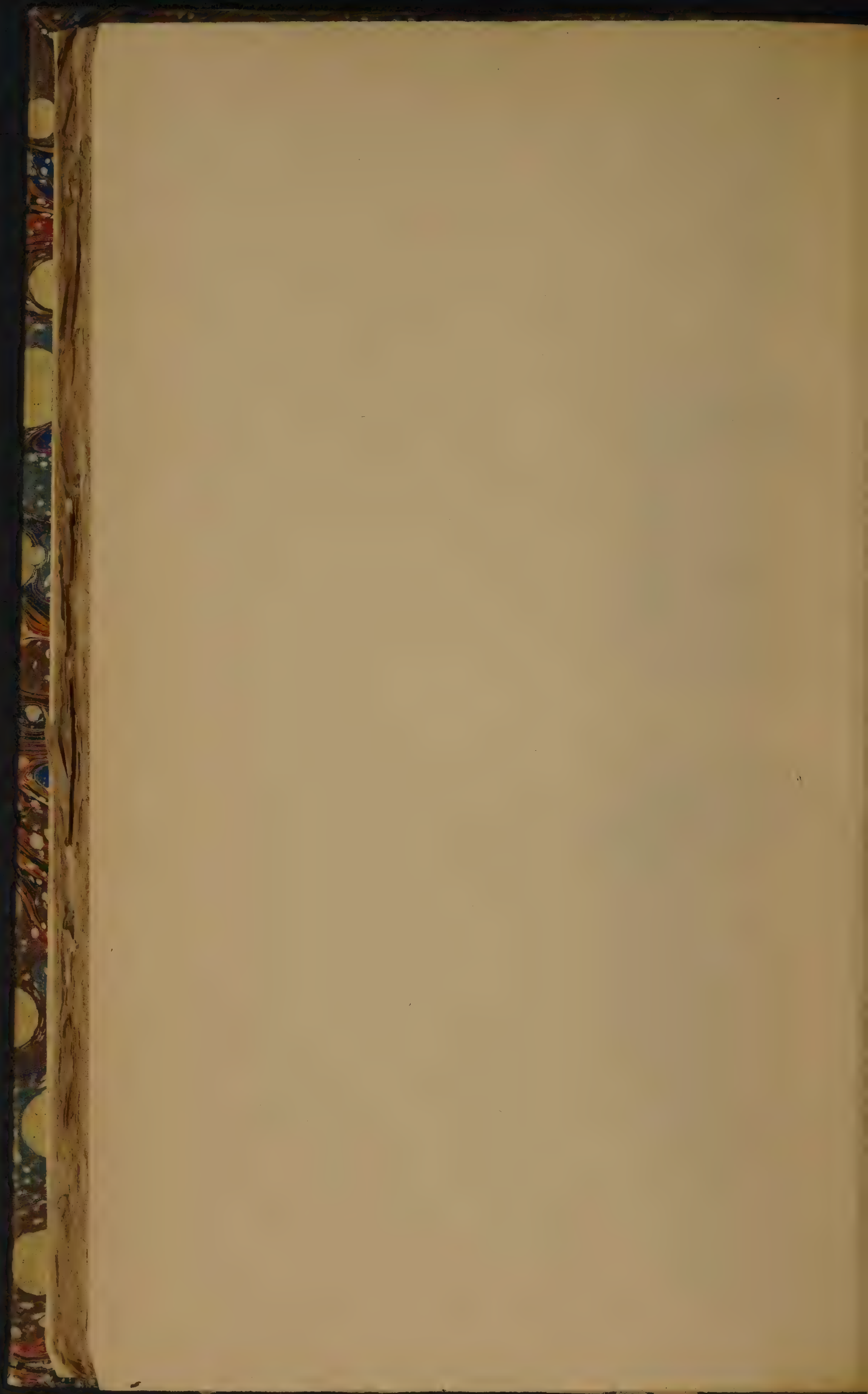
Baltimore, June 24, 1816.

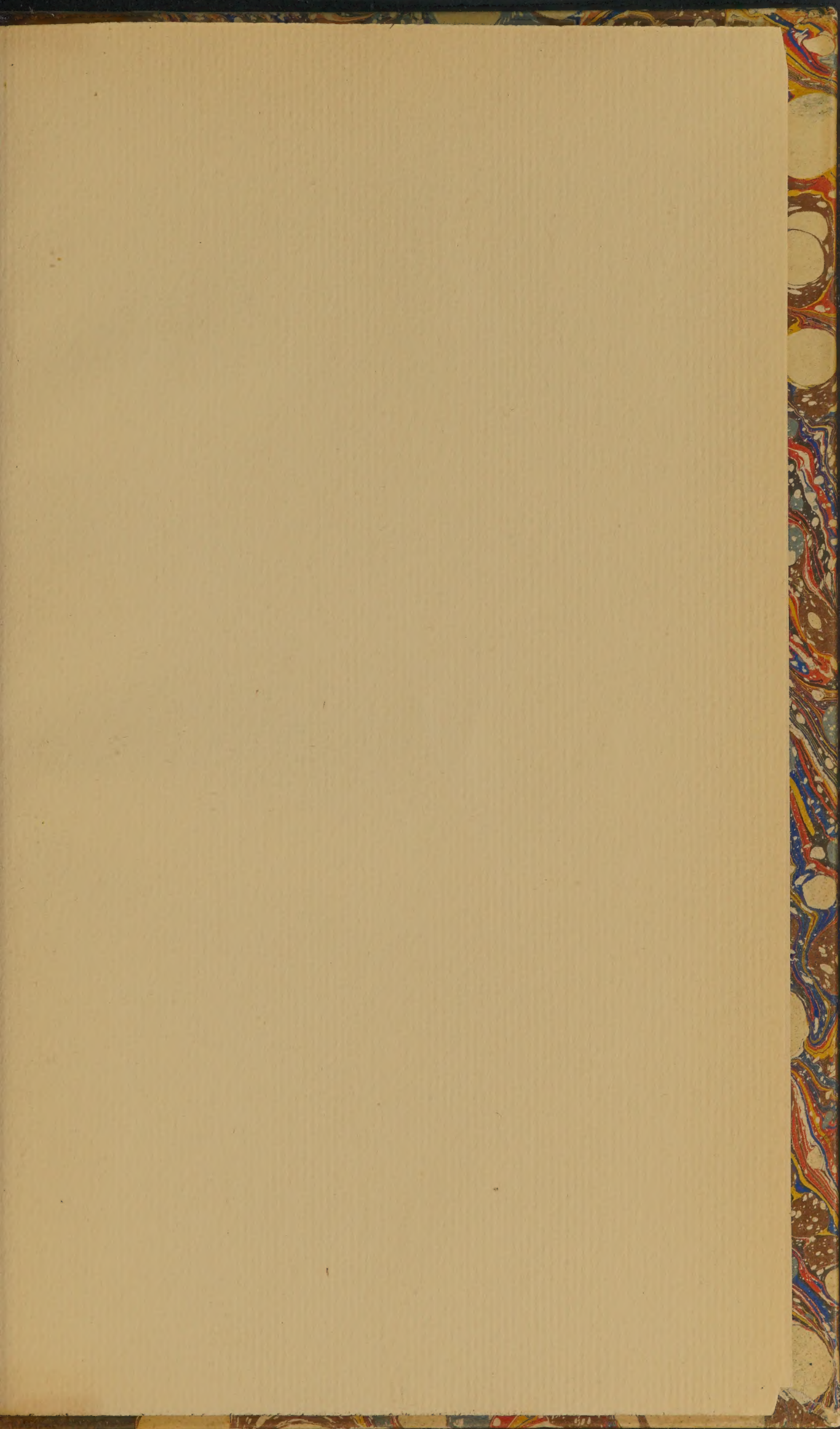
P. S. As will be observed by the above certificate, I do not recollect the exact date that this conversation took place, but I remember perfectly that it was in the winter, and a long time before the report was circulated, that the federalists had sent men to Annapolis.

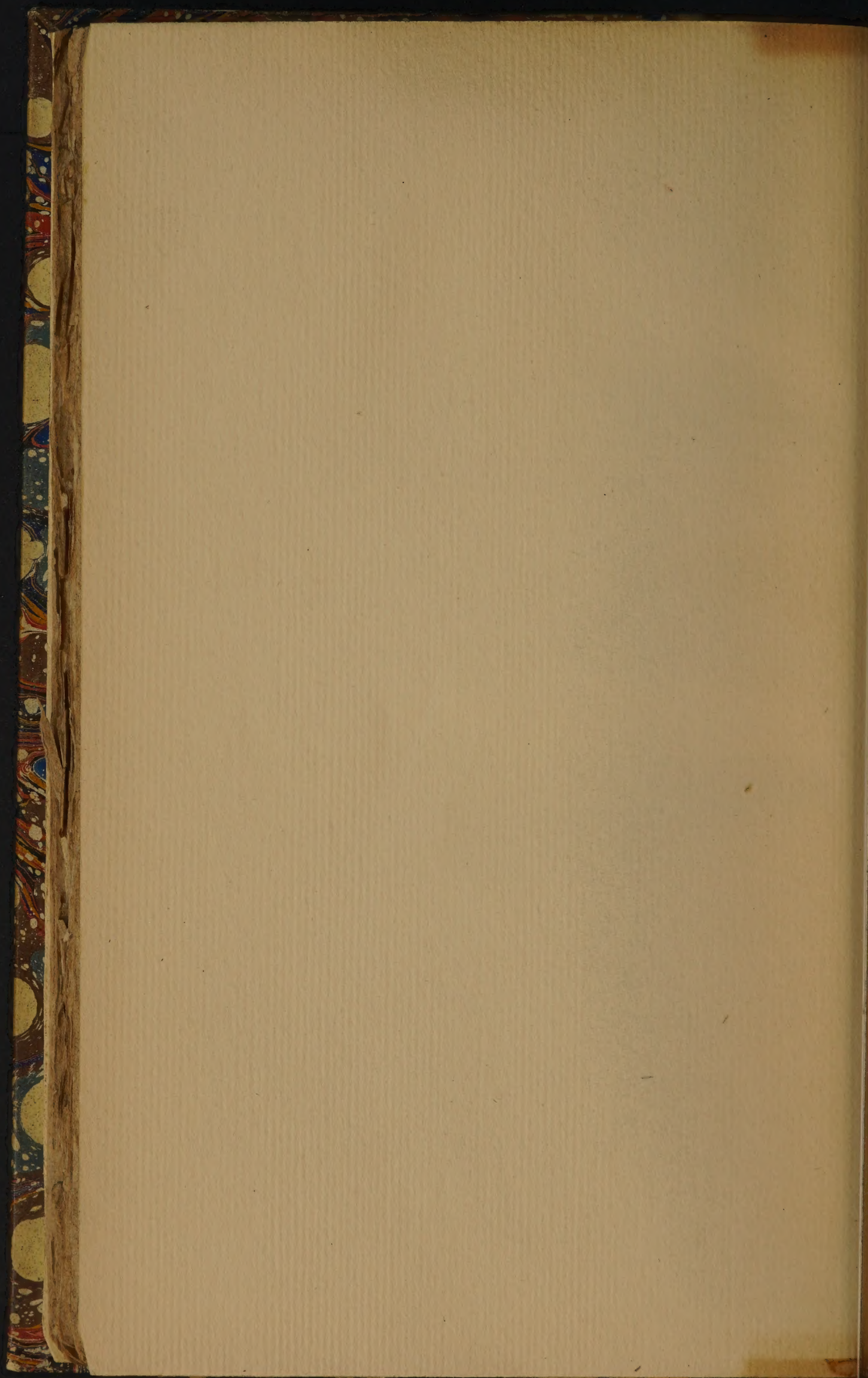
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